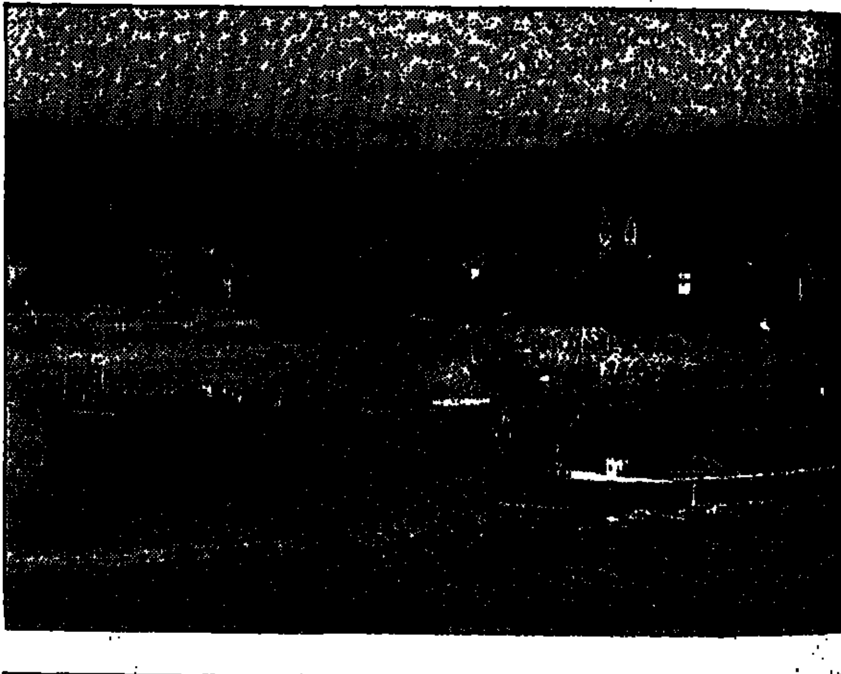
Routes to tour in Germany

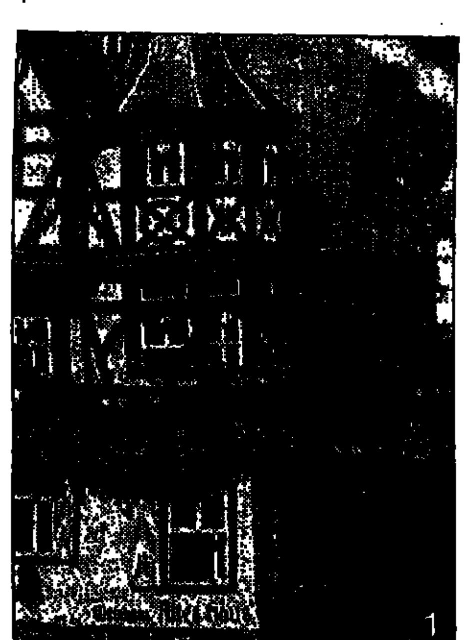
The Rheingold Route

Rhens
Spay
Boppard
Bad Salzig
St. Goar
Oberwesel
Bacharach
Rheindiebach

German roads will get you there – to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes.
For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

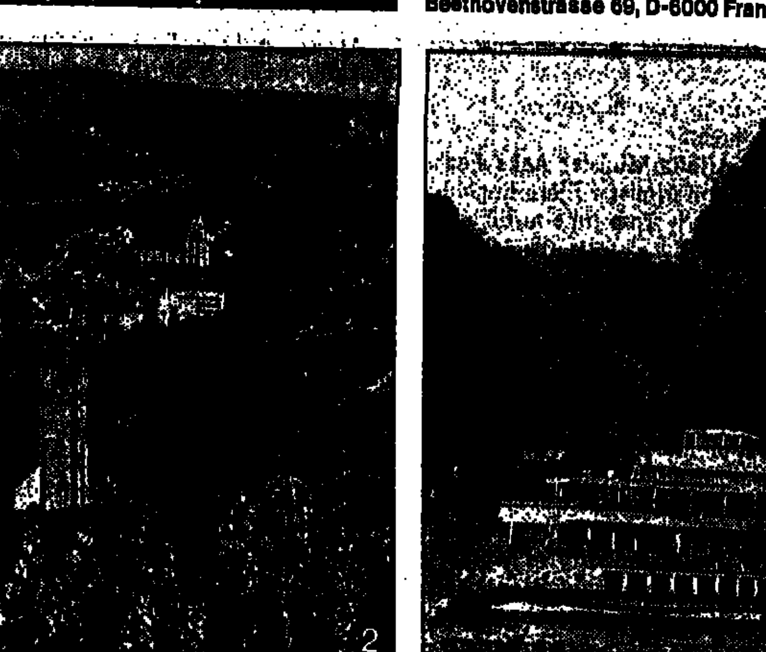
Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.

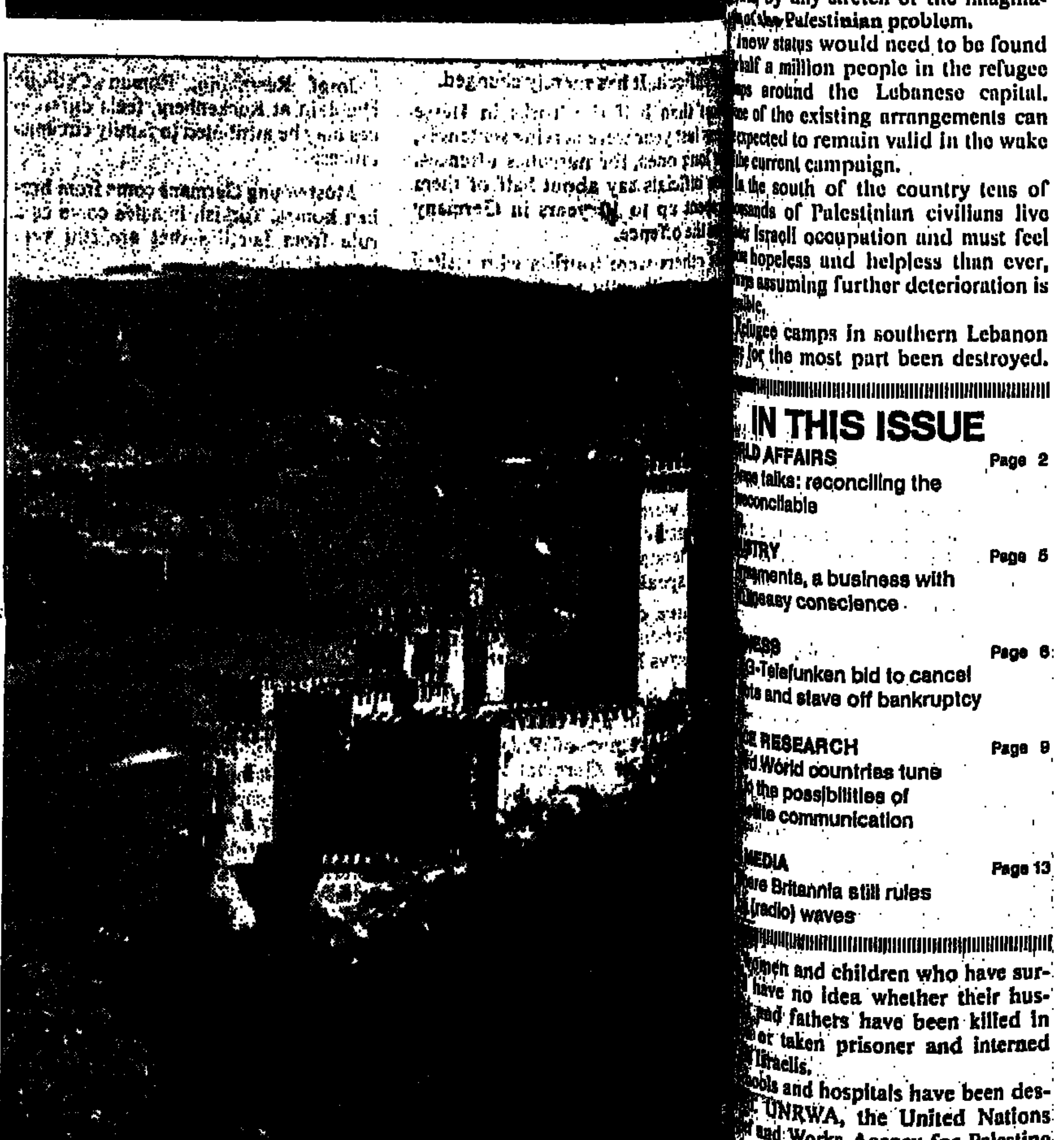


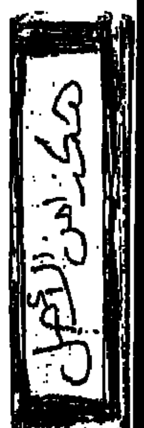




1 Bacharach
2 Oberwesel
3 The Loreley Rock
4 Boppard
5 Stolzenfels Castle







The German Tribune

burg, 22 August 1982
-first Year - No. 1048 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Beirut siege unlikely to remove conundrum



Will Mr Begin have got what he wants when the PLO leader, Mr Arafat, leaves Beirut for Syria or some other Arab state and his forces quit the besieged western half of the Lebanese capital in single file?

It is hard to avoid reaching the conclusion that Israel's Lebanese campaign has raised more problems that it has solved.

If Mr Arafat moves to Damascus and 5,000 to 6,000 guerrilla fighters are shared out between Syria, Jordan and Egypt, what will then have changed in Lebanon?

Long-suffering, bomb-scarred Beirut with anything but sovereign government would be rid of the PLO fighters but not, by any stretch of the imagination, of the Palestinian problem.

A new status would need to be found for half a million people in the refugee camps around the Lebanese capital. None of the existing arrangements can be expected to remain valid in the wake of the current campaign.

In the south of the country tens of thousands of Palestinian civilians live under Israeli occupation and must feel more hopeless and helpless than ever, perhaps assuming further deterioration is possible.

Refugee camps in southern Lebanon have for the most part been destroyed.

Women and children who have survived have no idea whether their husbands and fathers have been killed in action or taken prisoner and interned by the Israelis.

Schools and hospitals have been destroyed. UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, will have to start from scratch again, always assuming Israel allows it to.

In northern and eastern Lebanon, as agreed with the Lebanese authorities, Syrian troops under the aegis of a pan-Arab peace force are still stationed.

This arrangement will likewise need reappraising, and although little is known for sure about this part of the country several thousand PLO fighters seem sure to be there to stay.

They are said to be based near Tripolis and in the Bekaa plateau and will, as matters stand, still be in Lebanon when their comrades-in-arms have left Beirut.

The Syrians claim to be in Lebanon by the term of an Arab League mandate, although the mandate has expired, and are only prepared to leave Lebanon if the Israeli forces withdraw at the same time.

The Israelis, who undeniably have the upper hand at present, insist on all alien forces other than those expressly empowered by Beirut leaving the country before Israeli forces withdraw to their own territory.

That could take months, during which Israel will continue to make itself at home in southern Lebanon, imposing on the Lebanese the Israeli administrative, banking and commercial system and systematically extending the sphere of influence of Major Haddad, its Lebanese militia leader ally.

The Israeli leaders have made it clear that as far as they are concerned their troops will be staying in Lebanon until winter and as far north as Beirut.

Israel and the United States may repeatedly say that what they want is a strong Lebanese government, but how is one to take shape as long as Israel is in effect running the country?

How can a strong central government emerge in Beirut as long as the Lebanese are saddled with a share of the Palestinian problem that is more than they can reasonably be expected to handle?

Premier Begin and Defence Minister Sharon may claim that the expulsion of Mr Arafat and his PLO units from Beirut will rid them of the Palestinian problem. They are mistaken.

Mr Begin's hopes that there will be a Biblical 40 years of peace on Israel's borders after the PLO has been effectively put out of action once and for all are illusory.

There can be guarantee of the Arabs remaining for all time as weak as they are at present.

Regardless whether and when the Palestinians reorganise militarily in their countries of exile, the idea of a homeland in which they can give full expression to their national identity, as the Jews are able to do in Israel, cannot be eradicated by bombs.

It is an idea that must be pursued further politically, and Egypt for one will make sure it is. The Camp David agreements, which provide for a limited measure of Palestinian self-government, do not go anywhere near far enough.

From the Arab viewpoint the war in Lebanon is a direct consequence of the Camp David peace settlement, which isolated Egypt and gave the Israelis cover for fresh military operations.

Cairo is still abiding by the terms of the 1979 Camp David settlement, but grimly and with great reluctance.

So what has Mr Begin achieved apart from a fragile, deceptive apparent security? Ruins and corpses and dometic unrest to add to the state of affairs beyond Israel's borders.

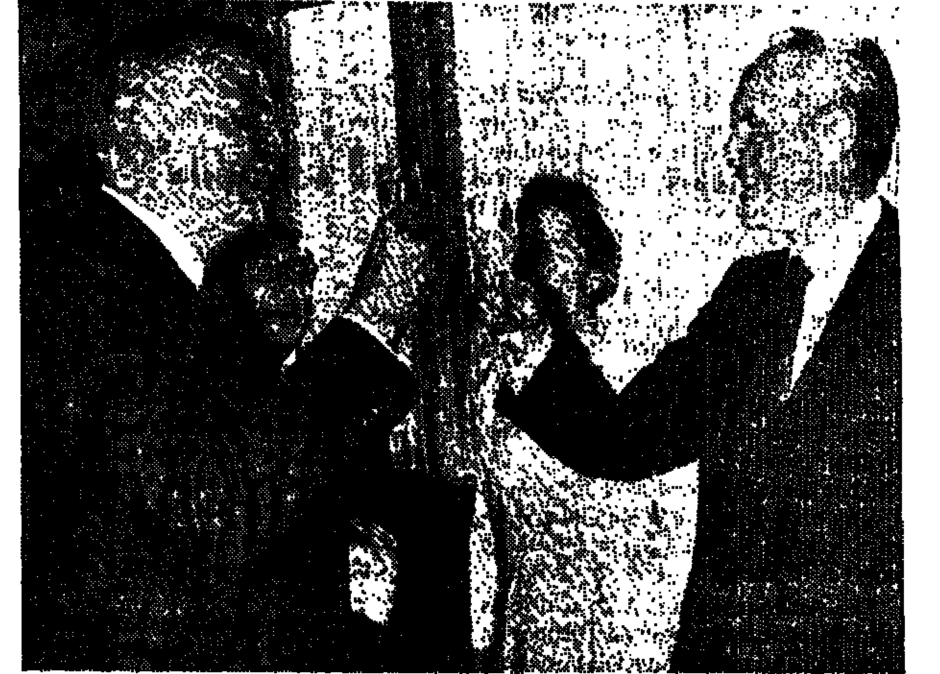
They are all the consequence of an Israeli desire for self-assertion that is fundamentally valid but has been exaggerated and perverted by Mr Begin and Mr Sharon and their war.

Any idea of the invasion of Lebanon paving the way for a new and glorious future is absurd.

Helmut Pickel

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 9 August 1982)

IN THIS ISSUE



A Swiss greeting

Bonn President Karl Carstens (right) exchanges toasts with Swiss head of state Fritz Honegger during an official visit to Berne. In the background are Frau Veronica Carstens and Swiss Justice and Police Minister Kurt Furgler. (Photo: dpa)

Argentina: some questions still to be answered

The European Community has been trying to renew ties with Argentina since the Falklands war.

Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo went to Buenos Aires, an appropriate move because Italy lifted economic sanctions before the Falklands fighting was over.

Amid this process of cautious rapprochement France has lifted the arms embargo on Argentina, which must have been good news for the Argentine armed forces.

France is their supplier not only of modern naval fighter aircraft but also of Exocet missiles. They can be fired from both ships and aircraft and were used to devastating effect in the Falklands.

Since even a socialist France has maintained a largely unrestricted arms export policy governed mainly by economic considerations, Paris was likely to lift the embargo soon.

But the timing was unfortunate. It put Argentina in a position to call on other Common Market countries to waive arms export restrictions before normal trade ties are resumed.

France has already done so, the Argentinians can argue, which will put the Federal Republic of Germany in particular on the spot.

German arms manufacturers have helped the Argentinian armed forces design a lightweight tank the Argentinians are now offering for sale to countries affected by the German export restrictions.

When fighting broke out in the South Atlantic, frigates for the Argentinian navy were being fitted out at a Hamburg shipyard that supplied the know-how for the construction of corvettes at Argentinian yards.

There can be no doubt that by the terms of Bonn's arms export restrictions Argentina would have to give better assurances there will be no repetition of the Falklands adventure before the embargo could be lifted.

Otherwise Bonn could hardly refuse permission for other arms orders from countries in other parts of the world without risking foreign policy repercussions.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 11 August 1982)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Arms talks: reconciling the irreconcilable

Never have delegations at an East-West disarmament and arms control conference got down to brass tacks as fast as at the Geneva talks on intermediate-range nuclear force reductions in Europe.

Both sides have submitted their initial positions in the form of treaty drafts, complete with detailed explanations. Both know how difficult the subject is and realise what problems will need to be solved before results can be achieved.

There are not many problems, but those that do exist seem to be irreconcilable. The Americans and Russians are publicly accusing each other of not wanting to negotiate seriously.

The two sides' negotiating positions in Geneva are:

● The United States says the Soviet Union enjoys an overwhelming advantage, a six-to-one lead, in medium-range missiles in Europe.

The Americans want first to discuss land-based missiles only and propose a complete and total renunciation of both Soviet SS-20s, SS-40s and SS-5s and Western missile modernisation scheduled to start in autumn 1983.

They use warheads as a realistic unit of account, want to negotiate on US and Soviet missiles only and call for agreements reached to be as verifiable as possible.

● *The Soviet Union says there is an approximate balance between Nato and* the USSR in medium-range missiles, but Russia has declared that it is ready to negotiate on all kinds of intermediate-range nuclear forces aimed at targets in Europe.

In practice all that Russians have so far proposed is a two-stage plan to reduce the 1,000 systems that are said to exist on each side to 600 each by 1985 and 300 each by 1990.

But they merely list the carriers and equate air-, sea- and land-based systems. Soviet Asia is not included, but British and French nuclear weapons are, while Moscow is only prepared to permit limited verification.

The US proposal of a zero solution in the missile sector has the advantage of concentrating on a limited sector that both sides consider particularly dangerous, leaving other weapon systems to be dealt with at later talks.

The Soviet plan is based on gross mathematical inaccuracies, compares the incomparable and includes a succession of obvious pitfalls.

By the terms of the Russian proposals there would be 263 British and French nuclear carrier weapons in Europe from 1990, including nuclear submarine missiles covered by Salt 2.

That would leave a mere 37 missile systems for the United States, whereas the Soviet Union would be entitled to retain its entire stock of SS-20s.

The Soviet missiles would have a much larger number of warheads, over 900, than the Western systems, and Russia would also have its missiles based beyond the Urals.

The unacceptable objective of the Soviet proposal is to force America virtually out of Europe in nuclear terms, to destroy the Nato Strategy of flexible response and to decouple the United States from the defence of Western Europe.

Without US nuclear backing the defence of Western Europe could no longer be guaranteed.

The West has naturally given consideration to how the US negotiating position might be further developed, and four options seem possible:

● *The zero-plus solution, which would* allow both sides to retain some of their medium-range missiles. This would presuppose a partial missile modernisation by the West.

● The extension of negotiations to other carriers, especially aircraft. This would make it possible for both sides to adopt a more flexible approach to the talks, but it would also make the overall issues even more complicated.

● Inclusion of the British and French nuclear deterrent. This is little more than a theoretical possibility, since neither London nor Paris would be prepared to accept it.

● Incorporation of intermediate-range nuclear forces in the Start talks. Given the large number of warheads (the US proposal is for limitation to 5,000 each) involved, this would make the problem of Eurostrategic weapons seem much more manageable.

All four ideas have their drawbacks. The first would not eliminate the Soviet Union's dangerous SS-20 arsenal and even increase the Western nuclear *arsenal in Europe.*

Objections to the second have been raised by Nato brasshats who say that air forces in being are indispensable for conventional defence purposes.

The third would ensure in writing, as it were, that the Soviet Union enjoyed nuclear superiority over the United States inasmuch as the nuclear potential of their respective allies would first have to be taken into consideration.

The fourth, linkage with Start and long-term US proposals in respect of intercontinental missiles, would take much longer and make a start to missile modernisation virtually inevitable.

The idea of total denuclearisation in the intermediate-range sector, which would clearly be the least complicated solution, has so far played no part.

The main objection to this idea in the West is that a renunciation of nuclear weapons on board aircraft cannot be satisfactorily verified.

Besides, there are no signs yet of the slightest readiness on Moscow's part to renounce its intermediate-range nuclear potential aimed at targets in China.

A level-headed view of the negotiating position shows that there is little cause for optimism at the moment, and the West has little reason to change its current position as long as the Soviet Union retains its unrealistic starting point.

Russia seems as determined as ever to first see whether the stationing of 572 Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Western Europe will prove politically possible. If so, progress in Geneva need not be expected until Soviet hopes have been dashed and the West's first new weapon systems are deployed in autumn 1983.

The Kremlin is not running much of a risk in deciding to wait and see. Western missile modernisation will take an estimated five years in all.

In terms of time, the pressure on the West is much higher.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 12 August 1982)

OAU members wait for the next move

The OAU is at death's door. Now the Tripoli OAU summit, which was to have been held in the Libyan capital early in August, has been frustrated by a clash over the status of West Sahara no one has any idea what will happen next.

A group of African countries led by Morocco boycotted the Tripoli summit, which thereupon failed to reach a quorum, because they refused to recognise the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic proclaimed by Polisario.

A five-member contact group, consisting of Congo, Libya, Mali, Tanzania and Zambia, is to try and arrange for a fresh summit, to be held within three months.

But it is doubtful whether the OAU on its deathbed can be helped by any attempts at resuscitation whatever.

The Organisation of African Unity was launched in 1963 with great enthusiasm, but for years it has been more reflective of African disunity, fostered between the millstones of national egoism and superpower influence.

As for the bone of contention, the OAU membership of the Sahara Republic, which was admitted to the organisation in February, the setback is undeniable.

What does the Polisario state stand to gain from membership of an organisation the days of which are numbered?

US diplomatic pressure and Saudi Arabian money have each played their part in engineering the failure of the Tripoli summit.

Since the Reagan administration took office Washington has firmly backed the Moroccan card in North Africa, which as Assistant US Defence Secretary Wolfowitz has put it, is a vital strategic zone.

The United States feels is must at all cost avert a political defeat of King Hassan of Morocco, who in 1975 occupied the former Spanish Sahara and has since waged a costly desert war against Polisario guerrillas backed by Algeria and Libya.

The entire summit conference had to be torpedoed to make sure the Polisario republic was unable to make its OAU summit debut in Tripoli.

The summit was torpedoed, making the Sahara conflict, which was originally merely regional in character, part of a new Cold War once and for all.

The Sahara problem was not the only factor contributing to the Tripoli fiasco. Many Africans dislike Colonel Gaddafi, the Libyan host.

This sentiment is carefully nurtured by the United States, which views the Libyan leader as an archetype world enemy.

A number of African governments have a bone to pick with Colonel Gaddafi because he is regarded as a meddler in other countries' domestic affairs.

They were not prepared to allow him to hold an OAU conference of his own, which would automatically have entitled him to chairmanship of the organisation for the next year.

French diplomats sought in vain ... salvage the Tripoli summit and ... OAU. Paris argued that the OAU as ... intra-African forum provided invalu... ble opportunities of dialogue that ou... not to be forfeited given the many dif... rences of viewpoint in the continent.

If they were, the argument contin... Africa would undergo an even more ... treme polarisation of intra-African co... trasts and become a mere plaything ... the great powers.

But France's closest friends in bl... Africa, including Senegal, the Iv... Coast, Gabon and others, left M. M... terrand in the lurch.

It was a sad setback for the Fre... leader and a bitter blow for his am... tious bid to keep Africa and the Th... World out of the conflict between ... superpowers.

Jürgen W. Pli...

(Der Tagesspiegel, 15 Augu...)

Namibia death toll rises as war goes on

The South African invasion of Ang... la to deal with Swapo guerrillas ... swung the spotlight away from ... Middle East and back to an almost f... gotten war.

In the worst fighting for a long ti... 314 guerrillas and 15 South Africans ... reported to have been killed at the ... of writing, adding to the long list of v... tims of what is a war in all but name.

The number of Swapo fighters ki... over the past year must be well o... 2,000, and figures of this kind ten... ignore civilian casualties entirely.

Yet who is a civilian and wh... fighter in this context? The distinct... is probably as imperceptible as in ... sieged Beirut.

For years the future has been at ... in a country that was once a Germ... colony and is called South-West Af... by the South Africans who administ... and Namibia by the United Nations.

It is a war on two fronts, relying ... both political means and force of ar... to ensure the independence of Namib... once and for all.

News of the fighting in Angola w... quick to hit the headlines; behind th... scenes politicians had worked ... months with some success.

The governments of South Africa ... the black African front-line states ha... conferred. So have representatives ... the Namibian political parties and ... moderate internal wing of Swapo.

Representatives of the five-nation Western contact group on Namib...

Continued on page 9

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD's fading claim to be the sole party of the working man

Blue collar workers now are about equally divided in their political preference: as many would vote conservative as SPD.

A few years ago, this sort of statistic would have been unthinkable. But over the past couple of years, most of the larger cities have given the CDU a majority.

The latest polls say that 46 per cent of workers asked would vote SPD and 44 per cent the CDU/CSU.

This raises the question of whether the traditional party of labour, the SPD can still claim to represent working people.

The change has been swift. Not quite two years ago, only a couple of months before the general election, close to 60 per cent of the working class said they would vote SPD.

Economic developments have been important. The continuing slump has armed the government parties in Bonn. Confidence in the SPD's ability to get the economy back on its feet is ebbing and growing joblessness is further fuelling disenchantment and uncertainty.

Even those who are not convinced that things would improve under a conservative government feel that it is at least worth a try.

The slump is, however, not the only reason.

Some months ago, an SPD report came up with a statement that should have alarmed the party.

Skilled workers, it said, still accounted for 29 per cent of SPD party members. And even their ratio of party officials on a municipal level was 27 per cent and hence fairly satisfactory.

But in the sub-districts, workers hold only 7.5 per cent of party posts.

On the other hand statistics showed that 35 per cent of the card-carrying members were employed in the public sector; and these 35 per cent accounted for half the party posts in municipal chapters and 75 per cent of the posts in the sub-districts.

At the next higher level, marking the transition to politics as a career, they were even more heavily represented.

There are some simple explanations for this: Since the end of the 1960s (and particularly during the reform era under Chancellor Willy Brandt), the SPD attracted young intellectuals in droves, many of whom became civil servants.

Being government officials or public sector employees, they found it much easier than the rest of the working population to make a party career.

As a rule, these people are more eloquent and, above all, they do not risk their jobs if they spend a lot of time on politics.

Even those who go into politics full-time can at any time return to their civil service jobs without disadvantage.

This shift in occupational origins in the party hierarchy has fundamentally changed the SPD.

Anybody trying to find an SPD delegate with calloused hands at national party congresses would have a hard time.

What predominates is no longer the "working class" but a caste of well dressed men and women. It is obvious at a glance that they are either university teachers or hold some desk job.

The term "labour party" clearly no longer applies. The Social Democrats are essentially a party of intellectuals, most of them in the civil service.

In addition the working class itself has changed. Kurt Biedenkopf hit the nail of the head when he said: "The little man is a big fellow now."

What this boils down to is that the SPD — and the trade unions — have become the victims of their own success, so to speak.

Their policy has greatly contributed towards *making the worker in general* and the skilled worker in particular no longer consider himself as part of the proletariat.

The worker of today has increasingly acquired habits and thought patterns that used to be considered typically bourgeois.

On the other hand, the swelling of the ranks of intellectuals within the SPD has also had an effect on the party's political attitudes.

For one thing, academics are by nature more flexible intellectually. They tend to seize upon new ideas instantly because of their innate concern that they could one day no longer be the spearhead of progress.

Trends opposing economic growth on principle were unthinkable at a time when the working class determined SPD policy. Today, part of the SPD regards the Greens as natural allies, no matter what the voters think about it. It is hard to say where this will lead.

The fact that a Social Democrat was at the head of the Bonn government has long forced the SPD to pull itself together. But gradually it is heading towards a point when the opposite will hold true: decisions that have to be made by the government aggravate the friction within the SPD camp.

Yet it is unlikely that what many regard as the cleanest solution — a split in the Social Democrats — will happen.

Instead, there is every likelihood that



the dogged tug-of-war between various groups over the party course will continue.

The working class faction plays a major role. And it is anything but good for the SPD that this faction has shrunk.

Even so, it would be wrong to underestimate that faction's strength. This is the spearhead of the party, the very core that has shaped its history and policy to date.

The fact that the working class accounts for an ever smaller portion of the population must be no reason for the SPD to sidestep it.

Unless the Social Democrats pick up the cudgels on behalf of the workers and bring them back into the fold, they will become a different party.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 August 1982)

Genscher looks to the future

Hans-Dietrich Genscher has made it clear that he is ready to battle it out.

Like last year, when his call for a turning point ushered in the tug-of-war over the budget between his party and the SPD, he now keeps speaking of the "new majority".

The FDP chairman wants to bring about a shift of power in Hesse from the SPD to the CDU and a "new majority" there. Why?

Genscher says: "For a future-oriented economic policy, a policy that will ... jobs and thus do justice to the ... objective of German domestic policy in the 1980s."

In his inimitable manner, Genscher ... makes it clear that a change in Hesse would also be decisive for "a new future-oriented free-enterprise policy in Bonn."

It has frequently been assumed that Genscher will seek a new coalition nationally only after the electorate has approved the change in Hesse.

Should the Free Democrats fail to take the five per cent hurdle there, some expect Genscher will regard the experiment as a failure and announce his resignation as FDP party chairman at the national congress in November. But this ... conjecture.

The fact is probably that a failure of the FDP's first change of horses in midstream would make it harder for the FDP chairman to capture a majority on ... national plane just as a success of the ... experiment would make it easier ... the Liberals in Bonn to follow suit.

But Genscher would not be the tacti... he is if he allowed his national ... and depend only on victory in ... Hesse.

Either way, the November party con... will be the last possibility for the FDP to switch from the SPD to the CDU in Bonn as well. Genscher will ... a majority decision.

True, there are loud warnings from FDP left wingers, and the Freiburg Cir... is going out of its way to make it as difficult as possible to leave the coalition with the SPD; but Genscher is rallying his troops.

A Bavarian initiative under the slogan "Solidarity with Genscher" is in full swing and fairly successful nation-wide. Genscher's image and popularity are intact and there is no opposing candidate who could match him.

Peter Hopen

(Bremer Nachrichten, 7 August 1982)

A star-studded start to poll campaign

The SPD has arranged an international start to its campaign for the Hesse *Land* election next month.

The election is an important one for the SPD, which has held office for more than 30 years in Hesse. The party's national business manager, Peter Glotz, said that it will be "a decisive crossroads" for the Bonn government.

When the campaign begins at Wiesbaden this month with a rally, the visitors will include the Greek Prime Ministers, Andreas Papandreou; singer and actress Merlina Mercouri, who is also the Greek Minister of Cultural Affairs; President Sorsa of Finland; Spanish socialist leader Felipe Gonzales; Denmark's Prime Minister, Anka Jörgensen, a close friend of Chancellor Schmidt; and French Planning Minister Michel Rocard.

It is hoped that this will help demonstrate Chancellor Schmidt's high international standing and drive home the need for this to be backed up at the polls.

But the chances are slim. Holger Börner's SPD in Hesse is fighting a rearguard actions against the CDU, the FDP and the Greens.

Its share of the vote is now estimated at between 34 and 36 per cent at best. It is unlikely that Glotz himself believes that the election can be won.

Herr Börner and his team have been on the brink of going into opposition since the SPD announced in June that it would leave the coalition and fight the election with the CDU.

Hesse SPD will not try to cultivate the Greens, unlike the Hamburg party. "Even after the election, any cooperation with the Greens is absolutely out of the question," says Hesse SPD manager Paul Leo Giani.

But what will be the SPD's attitude towards the renegade FDP in the election?

"We won't treat them with kid gloves. But with its six per cent of the popular vote, the FDP cannot be our main opponent. It only plays third or even fourth fiddle. Our main opponent is the CDU and Alfred Dregger," Glotz said.

The Bonn FDP was cautiously gratified at Glotz's unexpectedly mild tone. Said a Genscher aide: "If this is meant as an appeal to the whole of the SPD not to hit below the belt in the forthcoming campaign, we can only welcome it."

He said that the FDP would wage a fair campaign, as it had always done.

But few people can believe that the Hesse campaign will be fair. After all, the fate of Bonn is at stake.

Few doubt that the CDU under Alfred Dregger will again emerge as the strongest party in the State assembly.

If the FDP gets in at all and if the CDU does not capture the absolute majority, the Liberals will help vote in Dregger as prime minister in his third bid for this post.

The conservatives would then have a two-thirds majority in the Bundesrat.

This could, of course, prove very important for Bonn. Should CDU and FDP form the Hesse government, the FDP leader in Bonn, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, would have his back covered and could turn a cold shoulder to Helmut Schmidt at some point in the autumn.

The SPD can therefore only hope that, like in Hamburg, the FDP will fail to get into the Hesse assembly.

This would give the Bonn government a bit of breathing space because Genscher could hardly talk his party into switching coalition partners after a defeat in Hesse.

Jochim Stoltenberg

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 August 1982)

■ THE EEC

Bonn's grand plan for Europarliament gets a dose of cold water

The much-vaunted Bonn plan for developing the idea of European Union with a central role for the Europarliament has been watered down.

Bonn's plan was backed by the Italian government, but the *Frankfurter Rundschau* has learned that, as negotiations stand, all passages giving more influence to the Parliament in developing European Union have been deleted from the text.

Some member nations would like to Genscher-Colombo initiative eliminated altogether and replaced by something else.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher deliberately chose the European Parliament last November as the forum in which to explain his "European Act". The gesture was intended to emphasise the central role of the Europarliament in developing the European Union, as Genscher put it at the time, asking the Euro-MPs for their active support.

Then, a draft of the European Act and a statement on economic integration, worked out by the governments of Bonn and Rome, were forwarded to the other Community governments and the EEC Commission in Brussels.

The Council of Europe, presided over by Britain, met in London that same month and forwarded the draft to subordinate Community bodies for deliberation.

But since the first half of this year, when the discussion of the draft progressed under the Belgian EEC presidency, it has appeared likely that the Europarliament will not play a major role. The intention of the draft was to have the Europarliament deal with all issues concerning the Union — a practice that is already in effect to all intents and purposes.

The Europarliament was to present recommendations to the Commission, the Councils of Ministers and the Council of Europe, for comment.

The draft, to become an eventual European Act, was also supposed to have contained provisions whereby each Council president would have to keep the Europarliament's political committee informed on all foreign policy cooperation of the Ten under the European Political Cooperation system (EPC).

Parliament's presidium was to have been consulted on the appointment of the Commission president.

The draft also provided for a debate on the Commission's programme.

Parliament was also to be consulted on all Community legal acts of general importance that would involve cash payouts.

Finally, the Europarliament was to be consulted about new membership or association and EEC treaties with non-member nations.

These proposals were not exactly far-reaching considering that although the Europarliament gained its mandate in direct elections it has no genuine legislative powers.

At present, most delegations endorse a text that only states that "the European Parliament must participate in the development of the European Union and be in a position to exercise the necessary control function."

Queries by Euro-MPs may not exceed the limited authority vested in them by treaty. In fact, several of the member states refuse to give the Euro-MPs any right to question the European Council (consisting of the heads of government) although this body is defined as the executive branch of the Union.

There are also delegations that *oppose the Parliament's participation* in appointing the Commission president and concluding treaties with non-member states.

The Parliament's legislative function has shrunk to "improving the cooperation procedure."

Little will probably also remain of the intended inclusion of new and important sectors of political cooperation among the Ten (not within the EEC) such as in the areas of security policy, culture, internal security and standardisation of further areas of the law.

The proposed "voting on security issues" and the drafting of "common European attitudes in this sector" have been reduced in the new list of objectives of the Act to a "coordination of the standpoints of the member states regarding certain political, economic and security aspects."

In a departure from the original draft, the whittled-down document defines the new scope of activity for the Union. This now contains some suggestions from the French government memorandum on a *relance européenne* (European revival) and the "Mandate Report" of the EEC Commission, which also proposes a re-orientation of the Community.

The comprehensive "European Act" as originally drafted by Genscher's aides was conceived as a treaty on a European Union. It was to have been reviewed by the Council of Europe five years after being signed "with the aim of summing up the progress made in a European Union Treaty."

Here, too, not all member nations are prepared to go along. Some insist that such progress be institutionalised only in "an adequate form."

But time is running out. The current council president, a Dane, has made it clear in the Parliament that European cooperation must prove itself on the basis of the existing treaties.

The Genscher-Colombo initiative is still under review by the council, he said, warning against "hasty reforms of the existing treaties."

In the first half of 1983, when Germany assumes the presidency of the council, Genscher will be able to speed things up and, perhaps, crown his six-month term as president with the finalisation of the Act.

That would, of course, be his last chance because the nearing second direct election of the European Parliament would in all likelihood bring other issues to the fore that would require undivided attention.

There is, for example, the draft treaty that the institutional committee of the Europarliament wants to work out and make the central campaign issue. The Greeks will succeed the Germans in the presidency; and since this will be their first Community presidency, they will be unlikely to want to tackle such a complicated project.

Thus, the Bonn government's vaunted Europolitical initiative has already been greatly watered down.

It is, in fact, by no means sure whether the project will ultimately be known as "European Act". No agreement has so far been reached, according to Genscher, on the title of the proposal "aimed at making the comprehensive political goal of a European Union conspicuous for all."

It is also possible that some member nations would like to have the Genscher-Colombo initiative swept off the agenda through a "declaration of principles by the heads of state and government."

If this were to happen, very little would remain of a project that was started with so much fanfare.

In any event, the Parliament was sceptical towards this gesture when it was first put before it.

Several of the parliamentary groupings at the time called a Community policy to fight the economic crisis and the improvement of the Community's decision making processes the most pressing tasks in developing the EEC further.

Even the Liberals, who were the most favourable towards Genscher's initiative, stressed that the Europarliament was already working on reform proposals for the Community and, above all, on moves that would strengthen its own role. By implication, this meant that the Euro-MPs counted on Genscher's and Colombo's support.

This is another acid test coming up next spring when the institutional committee is to present its draft treaty to the Council of Ministers and the public.

That will perhaps also show which strategy is more credible and hence better in the long run: that of Genscher who has faced the public with plans and initiatives with a view to the public relations effect — plans to be whittled down behind closed doors — or that of the old Europe hand Altiero Spinelli.

Spinelli enlisted the support of as many Euro-MPs from as many political groupings as possible before persuading the Parliament to appoint a committee that is assigned special tasks and that is now gradually drafting proposals likely to find a majority before presenting them to the public at the next European election in 1984.

Detlef Puhl

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 August 1982)

If not a full-fledged war, there is at least some serious skirmishing in the EEC over Germany's stiff beer-brewing regulations.

The froth flies over German beer regulations

The Bavarians have always regarded beer as a staple food that had to be pure and unadulterated. Now even Bonn Health Minister Anke Fuchs has adopted this stance in defence of the beer regulations, saying that "due to the high per capita consumption of beer in the Federal Republic of Germany it must be subject to the same stiff purity regulations as any other food."

Beer sold in Germany may have four ingredients only: malt, hops, yeast and water.

This categorical purity imperative dates back to a decree of Bavaria's Duke Wilhelm IV, issued in 1516.

The German regulations would concern nobody but the Germans if it were not for the fact that they apply to all — including foreign — beer sold in Germany.

This purity obsession is one of the reasons why German beer imports are low: 75 million litres a year compared with the domestic output of 9 billion litres.

Foreign brewers frequently use maize, rice or other grains instead of malt made from barley.

This calls for chemical additives ranging from froth stabilisers to salt, saltpetre and various sulphur compounds.

Considering that the Germans are world champion beer drinkers with an annual per capita consumption of 150 litres, it is not surprising that foreign brewers would like to capture a share of this mammoth market. They consider the German regulations as a protectionist measure favouring domestic brewers.

The Brussels EEC Commission agrees, arguing that the law hampers free trade within the Community. A protest to this effect has been lodged in Bonn.

But Germany is adamant. It points to a passage of the EEC Treaty whereby measures aimed at protecting the health of the people are justified and do not conflict with provisions governing free trade.

To substantiate this, Bonn has commissioned a number of research institutes to analyse the chemical additives in foreign brewed brands.

Though the results have not yet been issued Brussels has already intimated that they will not make it abandon its standpoint.

If there were something wrong with non-German beers, the Brussels Eurocrats argue, the people in the countries of origin would already have suffered harmful effects.

Moreover, they say, nobody is trying to stop the Germans from continuing to brew according to their own recipe. All they are expected to do is to permit other beers to compete on the German market.

Exactly this, however, is what the German brewers want to prevent. They fear that foreign beers will be sold considerably lower prices which, they say, would be unfair competition.

They maintain that it is doubtful whether breweries — especially those near borders — will be able to weather such competition.

Since both parties are sticking to their standpoint there is no end of the "beer war" in sight.

In any event, Bonn and Brussels have entrenched themselves for a long dispute.

There is even a possibility that members of the European Court of Justice will one day have to down a glass or two — purely in the line of duty.

Hans-Willy Bein

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 4 August 1982)

■ INDUSTRY

Armaments, a business with an uneasy conscience

Herbert Oetting, an IG Metall shop steward at Blohm + Voss, takes a dim view of the headline Bananas Instead Of Frigates in *Vorwärts*, the Social Democratic weekly.

It headed an article about the activities of a working party set up to consider alternatives to manufacturing armaments, which account for most work the company does.

It is easy to see why Herr Oetting and his workmates at the Hamburg shipyard are upset. Headlines of this kind are grist to the mill of widespread prejudice.

Those who call for conversion of manufacturing capacity to produce civilian equipment instead of armaments are seen as a rule to be unrealistic, to say the least.

Yet the Blohm + Voss shop stewards have specific objectives in mind. One of the key demands in their declaration of principles reads: "We want safe jobs and meaningful work."

There are two reasons why the Hamburg shipbuilders are worried about the outlook at the company, in which Thyssen hold a majority stake and Siemens 12.5 per cent of the share capital.

Shipbuilding orders invariably fluctuate, while at Blohm + Voss "armaments has come to account for an increasingly large share of overall output," as the working party puts it.

Roughly half a payroll of 7,000 build ships and components for the Leopard tank, which between them account for about 70 per cent of turnover.

This heavy reliance on arms trade orders is anything but reassuring, Blohm + Voss staff agree. They feel it is a source of grave uncertainty.

"Armaments jobs are extremely dependent on short-term political decisions," the working party notes. "They fluctuate heavily on account of uneven domestic demand and unstable international markets."

This applies not only to the Hamburg shipyard. Tens of thousands of firms in the Federal Republic of Germany are more or less dependent on what the Bundeswehr or foreign customers order.

Thirty-seven years after the end of the Second World War, which cost so many millions of lives, the arms trade is big business in Germany again.

Yet the trade seems to have an uneasy conscience. Statistics seem to be supplied about virtually everything in Germany, but the figures available on the arms trade are decidedly sketchy.

Spending which orders are felt to be military and which are not, estimates of the extent of the trade range from DM15bn to DM30bn last year.

That would put Germany in fifth place, trailing the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain as an arms manufacturer.

Very few companies in the arms business do nothing but manufacture armaments. Conglomerates predominate, for political reasons and by virtue of technological developments.

Hamburg peace research scientist Michael Brzoska has drawn up a list of the 15 aircraft and missile manufacturers Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) is the league with an arms turnover of roughly DM2.5bn, especially now they have taken over VFW.

Then come AEG and Siemens, each of which he estimates to do about DM2bn worth of arms business a year. These three are head and shoulders above the rest.

Next come Krauss-Maffei, Munich manufacturers of the Leopard tank, with arms turnover totalling about DM1bn.

The remainder include both well-known names in the arms business, such as Rheinmetall, Krupp-MaK and the major shipyards, and companies less known for their stake in the arms trade.

They include Zahnradfabrik Friedrichshafen, the Diehl group in Nuremberg and commercial vehicle manufacturers Magirus-Deutz, MAN and Daimler-Benz.

MAN and Daimler-Benz hold equal shares in MTU, the motor and turbine manufacturers who come fifth on Brzoska's list.

The extent to which individual firms are dependent on arms business varies widely. It accounts for 14 per cent at AEG and a mere six per cent at Siemens, as opposed to three quarters of turnover at Krauss-Maffei.

Given difficulties in deciding which companies are involved in the arms trade, it is hardly surprising that estimates of the numbers employed in it vary widely.

IG Metall, the trade union that covers most of the companies concerned, reckons there must be between 200,000 and 250,000. Herr Brzoska estimates the current number to be about 240,000.

The number of armaments workers has been on the decline for years and has only just regained the 1971 level. Turnover, on the other hand, has skyrocketed.

The trade is still in a phase of expansion, says Herr Brzoska:

"Output for the Bundeswehr's third procurement wave is running flat out, while arms exports continue to increase. Economically, technologically and, above all, politically the outlook for the West German arms trade looks magnificent."

Yet Herr Brzoska and his West Berlin colleague Christian Wellmann feel a crisis is round the corner, and they list several reasons why:

● Bundeswehr procurement programmes, such as the 122 frigate and the Leopard tank, are due to end in a few years' time.

● Public funds are no longer available. The cupboard is bare and additional arms purchases are unlikely, especially as funding current programmes is proving problematic.

● Greater emphasis is placed these days on relatively less expensive armaments that take less time to manufacture. Military men are increasingly doubtful of the value of sophisticated systems liable to break down. Besides, next to no-one can afford them.

Should domestic sales take a tumble, exports would be the only way out. Already at least a fifth of the output is exported. Submarines and guns made in Germany sell well; turnover last year totalled at least DM2.5bn.

In the export stakes too Germany is in fifth place, trailing the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain.

Only about 30 per cent of arms exports goes to other Nato countries. Third World countries are the best customers. And manufacturers are keen to do even more business with them.

The Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats, realising that the trade may soon be in trouble, issued revised arms export regulations last May that relaxed previous restrictions.

It remains to be seen whether they will do the trick. For one, competition in world markets is growing increasingly tough, especially now threshold countries are in the running.

Brazil, for instance, exported armaments worth more than $1bn last year.

For another, countries that have been good customers are increasingly running out of money.

Herr Wellmann says even an unprecedented arms export drive would only partially improve the position. Demand has declined so drastically that even the most ruthless salesmanship could not offset the decline.

At the companies concerned even a partial improvement would be more than welcome. On 12 December 1980 about 1,000 Kiel shipyard workers took to the streets for the sake of job security. They demonstrated to try and persuade Bonn to allow their company, Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft, to build submarines for Chile.

For shipbuilding workers at Blohm + Voss in nearby Hamburg that was the last straw. The idea of West German workers clamouring for arms deliveries to a fascist regime prompted them to set up their working party to look into alternative products.

They were motivated by both moral considerations and worries about their own jobs. Arms means jobs is a slogan that is more than too simple, they feel; it is wrong.

Who can blame them? Short-time working is about to be reintroduced for about 2,000 Blohm + Voss workers.

They put forward as only one of their arguments the theory that the arms trade is a job killer because orders fluctuate. They also claim that:

● It promotes inflation because the income generated is not matched by available goods manufactured,

● it is a waste of research and development potential with serious consequences for industrial structure as a whole and, finally,

● it is not even a booster for civilian production.

The working party aims to prove "there are enough civilian products we could manufacture without suffering the disadvantages of forfeited qualifications, lower wages and loss of jobs, taking into account specific circumstances at Blohm + Voss."

They set great store by environmental protection, commodity recycling, energy technology and capital goods for the Third World.

They have visions of drawing up a masterplan for ensuring Hamburg's energy supplies including the manufacture of new power stations by Blohm + Voss.

The company has already built power stations and the working party feels it still has manpower with the know-how. Its development division is underemployed at present.

Another idea is to design and build wind power stations for use on board ships. The management feel this is an interesting proposal in a shipbuilding context. Oetting also mentions landing systems for countries without port facilities and braking systems for tankers.

The response to such ideas and activities has been divided. The shop stewards feel they have now, after initial scepticism, largely convinced their workmates.

They are also convinced they are largely responsible for having persuaded the management to reveal details of its plans for civilian product lines.

Yet they are well aware of the fundamental problem. "The lads are devoting thought to matters that ought not to be their concern," he admits.

Herr Oetting has encountered trade union criticism of the bid. Critics accuse the working party of running a kind of think tank for the management rather than debating arms problems from a political angle.

IG Metall is aware of the problem too. Klaus Mehrens, a leading union official, says trade union activity on the shopfloor cannot possibly solve the disarmament problem on its own.

Disarmament is basically a political issue, yet debate and planning for alternative, socially meaningful products has an important part to play in both safeguarding jobs and promoting an awareness of the problem that is essential if further moves are to be undertaken.

Lucas Aerospace in Britain is an example of how activities of this kind can ease pressure on jobs. The staff drew up alternatives to arms manufacture which the management consistently rejected, but redundancies were stopped as a result.

The idea has caught on in Germany. Working parties have been set up at Krupp-MaK in Kiel and VFW in Bremen.

Mario Möller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 August 1982)

Defence Minister Hans Apel hands over the first Leopard II tank in 1979.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

■ BUSINESS

AEG-Telefunken bid to cancel debts and stave off bankruptcy

AEG-Telefunken is trying to escape bankruptcy by seeking a court supervised arrangement to wipe out 60 per cent of its debt.

The company cannot pay its bills and has applied to a Frankfurt court for a compensation procedure for creditors to be put into action.

AEG's board wants all creditors except the very smallest to have their claims reduced to 40 per cent.

The board's plan must be approved by creditors holding 80 per cent of the firm's debt. The procedure would give AEG a breathing space in which to restructure.

This latest trouble for a company which has been constantly in financial deep waters over the past few years, comes just before its 100th anniversary next year.

Many of the company's 120,000 staff members are now worried about their jobs. Banks and suppliers already take it for granted that they will have to write off 60 per cent of what owed to them.

The insolvency of AEG-Telefunken marks the failure of the most spectacular rescue action in Germany's post-war corporate history.

The court application is intended to usher in a new beginning for the company, but it is a bitter and tragic event that will do immense damage to the reputation of German business abroad.

For Heinz Dürr, a Stuttgart entrepreneur who was appointed the company's chairman two-and-a-half years ago in a last rescue bid, this is the greatest defeat of his career.

How did this last desperate step come about? The resuscitation attempts, which in the past two years had cost the company's banks DM2bn and meant the lay-off of 30,000 people, were not enough.

And even Dürr's efforts to motivate the staff could not offset the years of mismanagement by his predecessors when the company's reserves were gradually eaten up.

As a bank manager put it, the money that was poured in from the top just flowed out again at the bottom.

Only a radical new beginning could have put AEG-Telefunken back on its feet. This would have had to be a rehabilitation involving several industrial partners and much of the risk would have had to be shifted to Bonn and the state government.

This was the original intention, but it didn't happen. No sooner had the banks agreed on a new energetic rescue than Bonn put a spanner in the works by refusing to issue a federal guarantee at this point on the grounds that such a move called for a thorough evaluation by outside auditors.

Nobody could blame Bonn. It had previously put AEG-Telefunken on a pedestal as a prime example of rehabilitation through the forces of free enterprise.

When Bonn announced that the audit was unlikely to be completed before the autumn, the banks raised a huge rumpus.

Six of the 24 banks forming the rescue consortium opted out.

The rest gave the impression of being prepared to go ahead. But the moment the issue of financial participation by the individual banks was raised they were unable to agree among themselves.

The work force (represented by the works council) had backed Dürr in his decision to cut back on social benefits and had endorsed some of the proposed lay-offs in a decision that went against the grain.

But when it came to the equity participation of the British General Electric Company the works council suddenly decided to oppose the management in a trial of strength.

It demanded that the British company be turned down, arguing that there would be even more lay-offs if it were given an equity.

Shortly before the company applied to the court for receivership, the works council approached Chancellor Schmidt, asking that Bonn buy an equity or that it nationalise the company as if this approach could have halted the staff cutbacks.

Months of public discussion that preceded the court application naturally undermined faith in the viability of the company still further, and business especially in the home appliances sector — declined even further.

To make matters worse, the promised cash injection by the banks failed to materialise and pending this Bonn was also unprepared to come up with the promised export guarantee. As a result the company simply ran out of money.

Although Dürr cannot be absolved of responsibility, the main blame rests with past managements.

Dürr's initial and quite viable concept of splitting the huge concern and opening it up to industrial partners came very late. And the inability of the banks to agree among each other made Dürr's move too late.

What was at stake, he said in an interview with *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, was also his personal credibility.

The remark was clearly addressed to the banks which had asked him to take over the company's reins in the first place and now forced him to resort to bankruptcy court.

How is it to continue? AEG will maintain its production in sectors where possible. This means primarily in technical goods.

With a payroll of only 60,000 by the end of the rest of the paying part of the operation is to continue. Unprofitable sectors — primarily household appliances — will be faced with a new tide of lay-offs.

Though Dürr intends to carry as much of the initial faith in him has been lost. And Dresdner Bank Chairman Hans Friderichs, who is AEG's supervisory board chairman, has also not come out of the debacle unscathed.

What will remain of AEG, Germany's second-largest electrical concern, will be no more than a pitiful remnant.

Anton Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 10 August 1982)

Not a case for state bail out

It was a Black Monday at least at first glance: Germany's second-largest electrical and electronics company, with a payroll of close to 100,000 in Germany alone, was insolvent and applied to a Frankfurt court for a rescheduling of debt.

The proceedings provide a last chance to salvage what is worth salvaging and put what remains on a sound footing, two costly rescue attempts having failed in the past eight years.

The rescue actions cost the banks a total of DM1.5bn in waived principle and interest payments.

But the net result was nil. The banks went on too long with their artificial respiration. With smaller debtors, they are much swifter in turning off the credit tap.

In the case of AEG, there are some DM5bn worth of loans at stake for the 25 banks involved; and many of these banks could themselves have troubles on bad debts of this size. So they decided to throw good money after bad.

Now, however, it is in the interest of the banks' depositors, borrowers and stockholders to put an end to it.

By resorting to the court, the AEG board and the banks have simply abided by their avowed determination to settle the crisis in the spirit of free enterprise. And this is how it should be.

They would have caused enormous damage to our market economy system had they adopted the trade unions' call for the state as a rescuer.

The taxpayers' money cannot in the long run save unprofitable jobs. And there is much to indicate that Bonn acted with economic common sense by restricting itself to offering a guarantee that would facilitate a free enterprise solution rather than assuming the role of rescuer (by nationalising the company or buying an equity in it).

Settlement of the AEG crisis in the spirit of private enterprise is particularly necessary: the crisis is due primarily to poor management and too much union opposition to rejuvenation bids.

The unions will also play a key role in efforts to save and make profitable again those sectors that are still viable: capital goods, with a payroll of 60,000.

This is the point to which AEG will have to slim.

Only if the trade unions, the staff representatives on the supervisory board and the works council summon the courage and the common sense they have lacked so far will 9 August 1982 not be a Black Monday in the close to 100-year history of AEG.

Franz Specks

(Rheinische Post, 10 August 1982)

Court hearing means end of rescue plan

Plans were drawn up at the end of 1979 to avert disaster for AEG, which was founded in 1883 by Emil Rathenau, as Deutsche Edison-Gesellschaft für angewandte Electricität.

The 1979 plan was to have been carried out by Heinz Dürr, who was appointed chief executive two and a half years ago. He himself was already the owner of a medium-sized group of companies.

The financial backing for the rescue was to have been provided by the company's banks in the form of a DM930m liquidity shot in the arm (DM310m as shares and another DM620m as supplementary money).

Shareholders had to put up with a capital reduction at the rate of three to one. At the same time, other industrial firms provided an additional DM450m in the form of unsecured loans.

To offset the company's unexpectedly high losses, Dürr subsequently sold many of the company's equities and parts of AEG-Telefunken itself.

In 1980, AEG started negotiating the sale of Dralorie and the Frankfurt-based Hartmann & Braun company (measuring and control devices).

More than 8,000 jobs were made redundant by the managers in AEG-Telefunken's German plants. And despite exceptional earnings of DM257m, 1980 closed DM278m in the red.

In 1981, Dürr sold to Bosch a 75 per cent equity in Telefonbau und Normalzeit.

Forty-nine per cent of the profitable cable technology and distant communications sectors were sold (20 per cent each to Mannesmann and Bosch and 9 per cent to Allianz).

Three major banks indirectly participated in the office machine firm Olympia, acquiring 49 per cent, while Bosch bought a 20 per cent equity.

A cooperation deal in the tools sector was signed with Peugeot, and a minority equity in Teldix was sold.

Another 7,800 jobs were made redundant in the German-based operations in 1981. Exceptional earnings of DM430m (sales) and the waiving of bank claims worth DM240m enabled AEG to close 1981 with a balance sheet loss of only DM24m. Pension claims were cut by two-thirds in a deal made with the Works Council.

There were essentially three things that ailed AEG. The huge debts called for annual interest payments of close to DM650m. The domestic appliances sector remained unsuccessful even after restructuring. Telefunken had huge losses abroad. Dürr said that two-thirds of the close to DM15bn volume of sales was accounted for by capital goods. It was sound.

He emphasised that it was almost entirely consumer goods that caused the problems. Banks estimated the losses of this summer at more than DM800m.

In the early summer, Dürr presented his 1983 plan for AEG. The relatively sound AEG-Technik, a newly formed subsidiary, was to be taken over by an industrial firm. Guarantees and participation by the state were to have helped to rehabilitate the consumer goods sector. But in August, the potential partner for AEG-Technik, the General Electric Company, lost interest.

An initial assistance move by the Government in the form of export guarantees to the tune of DM600m could not be implemented because the banks could not agree on the rate at which the DM275m loan (upon which the guarantee was contingent) should be divided up among them.

In July and August, Dürr came up with two more partners. Grundig was to acquire an equity in the home electronics sector while the American company concern is to manufacture electronic components in a joint venture with AEG.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1982)

THE ECONOMY

The crystal-ball gazers wonder where that turn-for-the-better got to

Business and economic researchers agreed in the spring that if interest rates declined and wage deals were moderate, the economy would improve. The improvement would come through higher profits and increased investment.

Well, the conditions for improvement have been met. Even the current account has been balanced sooner than anticipated. But the slump continues.

Why? Perhaps the dyed-in-the-wool pessimists, who said that the market was over-saturated, were not far off the mark.

There are certain goods like electrical household appliances that have long been taken for granted in every home and are no longer being bought — except as replacements.

But this saturation theory is only partly right. Most of the public still like buying things. But the economic situation and tight money make it impossible.

Though interest rates have declined by about three per cent in the past few months against the level of about a year ago they are still about 30 per cent higher than they were four years ago.

At the same time, available household incomes are going down while regular outgoings, like heating bills, are rising.

As a result, private consumption declined last year and is likely to continue to drop.

Though not exactly desirable, this has been accepted by the politicians, whose attitude is that improved real incomes should be prevented so that industry should have money to invest.

But while incomes have gone down, investment has not gone up — in spite of government subsidies designed to stimulate it.

Industrial output fell still further and orders in hand in mid-year were below the same period last year.

Foreign demand is declining still further. This was inevitable in view of the stagnating world trade and the import barriers that have been put up by the USA, Britain and France.

It is understandable that sales prospects both at home and abroad are anything but rosy. German investors are delaying investment projects and so prolonging the slump.

All this makes it clear that there will be no growth (adjusted for inflation) this year.

The fact that Commerzbank's Walter Seipp is convinced that there are more businessmen than generally assumed now on the brink of launching investment projects is not much of a consolation. They have been poised longer than they originally intended.

Several years of investment restraint have naturally caused a need to catch up. While the purchase of a new machine or a new car can be postponed for a couple of years, this cannot be done for much longer because normal wear and tear makes replacements necessary.

Yet the moment at which the replacement has to be made has been postponed time and again.

Now even the most incorrigible optimists see no upswing before next spring.

The president of the Standing Conference of Chambers of Industry and Commerce, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, says there are signs indicating a repeat of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The wave of protectionism in the USA and elsewhere, embargos and generally restrictive policies hardly help to stimulate world trade and boost the economy.

But this is only one side of the coin. Declining tax revenues in this country, together with a high state debt and the resulting high interest payments by the public sector, make it impossible to boost the economy through government investment programmes.

In view of this situation, it is not hard to predict that even next year will bring no more than a slight recovery. There will be no genuine breakthrough towards growth.

Anton Hunger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 August 1982)

Unemployment still rising

The jobless figures for July hit a record: 1,757,437. This means that the 1.8 million monthly average unemployment forecast by the president of the Federal Labour Office, Josef Stingl, has almost arrived.

The budget has been drafted on the assumption that the annual average of unemployment for this year would be 1.75 million.

There are plenty of reasons for the present unemployment rate of 7.2 per cent. The slump continues, and as usual in the summer months of recession years, industry hesitates to hire new staff.

And school leavers born in the high birthrate years are now crowding the labour market, which can only absorb some of these young people.

Explanations for rising unemployment are matched by recipes for a cure.

There are those who demand job creation measures by the state, with an emphasis on people working less.

Bonn has been studying the possibilities but has not yet come up with the results. This would suggest that the if everybody worked less there would be work for all argument is not conclusive.

There can be no denying that unemployment is a consequence of poor economic performance — be the woes home-made or imported from abroad.

Shorter working hours without reduced pay would be doctoring the symptoms without curing the root of the illness, the recession, which increased labour costs would only aggravate further.

Gerhard Weck

(Bremer Nachrichten, 5 August 1982)

New technology 'puts 3m jobs at risk'

More than three million jobs are likely to be lost in the immediate future because new technology involving micro-electronics, says the German trade union federation (DGB).

But the DGB sees no alternative to new technology because international competition is so tough.

There are some 2.7 million jobs in jeopardy in the service industries and offices alone, DGB executive board member Siegfried Bleicher has told the news agency Deutscher Depeschen-Dienst (ddp).

Bleicher called for an amendment of labour participation laws to give works councils more say in the introduction of new technologies.

What matters is to make technical progress socially manageable, Bleicher said.

Since microelectronics means more productivity, it also offers an opportunity to finance social progress in the form of shorter working times, which Bleicher regards as a major instrument in the fight against unemployment.

Some 45 per cent of all office work in such areas as text processing can be formalised while 25 to 30 per cent can be automated. "There are 2.7 million endangered jobs here alone," he said.

In mechanical engineering, the automobile and electrical industries, an annual 3.5 per cent of jobs are already being replaced by microprocessors, accounting for a total of 100,000 jobs a year.

In the watchmaking industry, 40 per cent of jobs have been lost in the past few years.

In management the DGB expects the loss of about 115,000 jobs.

Bleicher also pointed to the increased use of industrial robots, expected to reach about 40,000 by 1990.

But the unions see no alternative to such new technologies because of international competition.

One-third of Germany's industry depends on exports.

Bleicher stressed that the unions do not on principle oppose the technical revolution, saying: "It's nonsense to accuse us of being against machines."

What the DGB wants is to safeguard the health of the workers, keep skills at their present level and prevent material losses.

In office work, the new technology is already straining workers to the limit.

In its fight against the negative effects of technology, the DGB demands a say in the state's research and technology policy and advance information on changes in companies.

As a result, workers' co-determination rights must be extended.

"The present labour participation legislation is inadequate because it concerns only the consequences of entrepreneurial decisions," said Bleicher.

In view of this "unsatisfactory situation," the trade unions and works councils can only react rather than act.

Though some employers are prepared to cooperate, and this is reflected in their collective contracts with the labour force, the employers' associations have so far categorically rejected any change in the legislation.

Bleicher criticised this attitude as being "shorter than shortsighted."

ddp

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 August 1982)

What has happened to the German economy? And where is it going? This economic perspective was written for *Wirtschaftswoche* by Professor Dr Herbert Giersch, who is director of Kiel University's department of international economics, one of the five institutes which draw up economic predictions for the Bonn government.

■ PERSPECTIVE

Facing up to changing economic realities

1. In retrospect the 50s seem to have been economic miracle years for Germany, the 60s golden years worldwide and the 70s difficult.

The 80s are running a grave risk of becoming sad years and, if we let our hearts sink further, years of depression comparable with the 30s.

2. Growth came naturally in the 50s because readiness to work, save, invest and set up in business was neither unduly encouraged nor hampered by organisational or governmental power.

It was brisk because the relationship between real earnings, productivity and interest rates enabled millions of people to achieve their ambition: jobs that grew increasingly productive.

The *Wirtschaftswunder*, or economic miracle, occurred because people produced more than the parties to collective bargaining dared to share out in advance, thereby leaving enough capital to invest in the future.

3. The 60s became golden years by virtue of an economic policy innovation. Overall economic controls in the United States led to a demand backlog that gave European companies an opportunity of putting productivity potential to maximum effect by means of mass production and division of labour.

This potential was enriched by technology imported almost free of charge.

Once again more value was added *than society as a whole was prepared to lay claim to in advance*. The result was still more new jobs and calls for migrant workers to meet the demand.

4. Then came the venture on to thin ice. Instead of quantity, people clamoured for quality. Instead of economy they wanted ecology; instead of productivity, justice; instead of progress, security; instead of the individual, the collective; instead of the materialistic, the humane; instead of the free market economy, political arrangements; instead of spontaneity, regulated provisions. Such was the change in the system of values.

5. Europe also went through the end of overvaluation of the dollar and the end of inexpensive technology imports. Since the oil crisis labour productivity has seemed less important than energy productivity.

What was available for advance distribution in the annual round of wage talks without affecting the employment situation was reduced to a minimum.

But because everyone behaved as though it was business as usual, partly as a result of irresponsible guarantees of full employment, jobs went to the wall that earned less in profits than was shared out in advance.

Many jobs were only kept going because they were subsidised by the taxpayers' money.

In the short term the disproportion between productivity and wages was offset by inflationary pressure on real interest rates, but the malaise has been self-evident ever since the drug of inflation has had to be discontinued.

There is not enough power to generate new jobs in Germany, unlike in the United States, where real earnings have declined, thereby enabling about 20 million people to find new employment.

6. Wages ought not to continually be mentioned whenever unemployment arises as an issue. Yet even if this point has been taken, other prices that are wrong have assumed taboo proportions.

They include farm prices, rents, the cost of study and exchange rates, or used to include exchange rates.

In volume planning terms the diagnosis sounds equally unsatisfactory. At the going real wage rates in Europe there are not enough competitive jobs.

There is also a shortage of capital, of enterprising businessmen, of able executives and of innovative engineers and specialists. What calls for courage to face the future no longer seems to be worth the trouble.

7. In other sectors there is a surplus: too many people without regular jobs and too much red tape in government, in market organisations and lobbies and in companies.

This unproductive surplus is financed by wage-earners who are first paid more than the fruits of their labour is worth, then have to pay so much in tax and social security that they wonder whether it might not be better to join the ranks of the takers or transfer to the parallel economy.

8. Everyone in Europe is hit by the loss of dynamism that has arisen because wrong incentives have prompted people to want the wrong things.

They are being led in the wrong direction, away from the management outlook and off to the rear, where there is more administration than activity, more orders than order, more prescription than cure, more talk than study and more taking than giving.

In this way incentives are promoting a social security outlook that will doubtless before long be transformed into a fine-sounding philosophy of life.

9. In the circumstances there can be no ruling out the possibility of slower growth leading to a steady decline in living standards.

What can be done? Little benefit can be expected from the old trick of applying pressure on interest rates to offset inordinately high real earnings.

Capital markets have grown so sensitive that a mere increase in unemployment prompting rumours on money policy will tend to push market interest rates up.

So in the short term a step in the opposite direction would seem to be called for. The way to cut interest rates ... ease the burden on the wage front.

In the longer term rehabilitation ... rapy is required. There must be a re... to an order in which levels of mo... tion are restored.

10. Taxation must be simplified. Sub... dies that offset each other in effect ... otherwise merely hamper individual ... itiative must be gradually abolished.

Ministries and bureaucracy must ... abolished that politicise life and eff... ively declare the individual incompe... to handle his own affairs.

Laws and regulations that make ... ting up new businesses more diffi... must be suspended. State monopo... including the postal, must be abolish...

Private competition must be allow... to run alongside public undertaki... ranging from the railways to the edu... tional system.

There must be a free choice betw... several rates in the compulsory so... security system and more competi... in all regulated sectors, including ... aviation.

There must be greater freedom to ... up in trade in regions where indus... structures are ageing.

Is this a mixed bag? Why yes, b... that is because so much is overgrown ... has been paralysed.

Is it politically feasible? No, certai... not until people clamour for an oppo... tunity to revert to natural growth.

Herbert Giersch

(Wirtschaftswoche, 30 July 1982)

A depressing thought: is it 1929 again?

Helmut Schmidt is by no means alone in having visions of a 1929-style crash. In America there is increasingly debate on whether the poor state of the economy today might mean a *fresh 1929, tomorrow*.

The Bundesbank may feel such fears are wildly exaggerated and dangerous, but there can be no doubt that the international economy is at it lowest ebb since the Second World War.

We may not be plunging headlong toward a fresh Black Friday but the current recession is worse than its 1974 predecessor, and that was a bad one!

This now is true of nearly all industrialised countries, whereas only a few months ago the first signs of an economic spring were reported to be on the horizon.

Even the Japanese, who have seemed in the past to regularly achieve high growth rates, are back in the economic doldrums and in the final quarter of 1981 reported a decline in overall economic output for the first time since 1974.

The outlook is gloomy in Britain too, where Mrs Thatcher not long ago felt she could see a silver living in the clouds on the economic horizon. In next to no time the barometer has plummeted to zero.

In the United States, the other country where supply-side economics have favoured the business community, the bubble of a widespread and lasting recovery preached for the past year and a half seems likely to burst.

Apart from the Federal government, from which chief economic adviser Murray Weidenbaum resigned on account of its exaggerated optimism, hardly anyone still expects President Reagan's economic booster programme of tax cuts to work.

Supply-side economics is not alone in having failed. So has Keynesian economics with its emphasis on boosting demand by economic pump-priming.

France is a case in point. Despite M. Mitterrand's campaign promises France's economic crisis has taken a definite turn for the worse since he assumed power and embarked on fresh economic policies.

In Germany too, where economic controls have been used sporadically if at all, the optimism that was widespread last spring has long vanished.

If has done so largely because investment and exports, the two mainstays of any economic recovery, have for months gone into reverse.

The best indicator of economic trends over the next three to six months is industrial order books, and they look none too good.

Adjusted for inflation, domestic orders for capital goods in May were 10 per cent down on the low level of December 1981.

Export orders for capital goods were down to their lowest level for 19 months and nearly 15 per cent lower than six months beforehand.

So there are no signs of a definite improvement in the economic outlook. German industry may be more competitive that it used to be because of the dollar's high exchange rate, but it remains hard-hit by economic difficulties in other Western countries.

Other countries may be less dependent on exports but their industries are equally down in the dumps.

Recession is so universal that no single country seems able any longer to trigger sufficient growth of its own to stage a self-sustaining recovery.

This lethargy will doubtless continue to have the most serious repercussions on the labour market and government budgets, the sectors it has already hit hardest.

This winter will probably be marked by world unemployment at a level that would have been considered unthin... ble even 12 months ago.

The public sector borrowing requi... ment will then, for that and other r... sons, break all records, *as US trends* ... ready indicate.

In Washington the US Congress ha... revised its estimates of the budget de... in fiscal 1983 and 1984 on account ... the decline in economic prospects.

Congress expects the debt to be ... per cent higher than previously forec... next year and 100 per cent higher th... year after.

So there is no further leeway for ec... nomic booster programmes to stimul... either demand or supply.

What can economic policy-makers ... in view of such gloomy prospects, ... suming they are not resigned to loo... on regardless as the economy heads ... rock bottom?

A joint bid by all industrialised co... tries to surmount world recessi... which is assuming increasingly da... rous proportions, would appear to ... the only promising approach.

This would mean, for one, that g... vernment deficits would need to be c... tailed in a coordinated manner, eve... the price of defence spending cuts ... defence budgets have been largely ... ed cuts so far everywhere, not ju... the United States).

That would be the main prerequi... for concerted action to cut inte... rates, which are much too high for ec... nomic recovery.

If the West were only prepared ... join forces on this there would be a ... nuine chance of preventing worse fr... happening.

But egoism prevails over com... sense in the European Commu... Trade war is waged and family af... preoccupy America, Europe and Ja... in one sector after another.

Hopes of politicians changing th... spots, like the proverbial leopard, a... jointly arriving at long-term econo... perspectives will probably be in vain.

Hans Georg Linde...

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 31 July 19...)

■ ASTRONOMY

Programming the death of a star and the birth of a supernova

The test runs took months. The computer made the star die, but the ma... event, the supernova, did not take ... in Cray 1, the fastest electronic ... in the world.

A few oscillations from what was left ... the star were all that could be elicited ... the computer for most of the time.

Dr Wolfgang Hillebrandt of the Max ... Astrophysics Institute, Munich, ... been expecting computer simula... to yield much more spectacular re...

He had put together in a computer programme everything that was known ... the last few seconds in the life of ... star, including countless formulas ... various branches of physics.

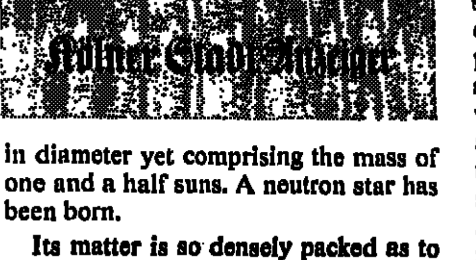
He felt he was on fairly safe ground. For about 15 years scientists have been convinced gravitational collapse is the ... cause of the spectacular bang ... ends a star's life.

For most of its life a star burns up ... elements into heavy elements by ... fusion, converting hydrogen ... helium via a number of intermedi... stages into iron and nickel.

They collect in the centre of a hea... body that has previously been a ... giant" with a diameter of over 700 ... kilometres.

The accumulation of heavy mass in ... interior of the star upsets its bal... This compact matter breaks up ... the pressure of its own gravity.

In a fraction of a second the entire ... collapses, shrinking to a mere 20km



in diameter yet comprising the mass of one and a half suns. A neutron star has been born.

Its matter is so densely packed as to bear comparison only with atomic nuclei. The matter that collapses, travelling at a speed of tens of thousands of kilometres a second, smashes against this nucleus, sending a powerful shock wave back to the outer shell of the dying star.

The shell has not previously noticed, as it were, that it is falling apart inside, but the shock wave blasts the shell to bits as soon as it hits it.

It does so at an initial speed of roughly 10,000km per second, and this explosion is what astrophysicists mean by a supernova.

Computer simulation failed initially to have this effect. The shell was unaffected by the implosion inside the dying star. Dr Hillebrandt's bid to simulate the supernova was foiled.

"In such a complex process," he explains, "so many factors play a part that you are obliged to resort to mathematical simplifications with even the most sophisticated computer.

"As a result the crucial effect may unwittingly be frustrated."

Three US scientists two years ago supplied the key to a partial solution when they worked out by computer how a star with 10 times the mass of the Sun aged.

They came across a curious phenomenon. Heavy stars of this kind have a life-span of 40 million years at most. As "red giants" they begin by developing a small, dense nucleus of neon and silicium.

It has a density of 5,000 tons per cubic centimetre and a temperature of about seven billion degrees centigrade.

But about 85 per cent of the star's matter, consisting of hydrogen and helium, is spread round the remainder of the volume as an air cushion, so to speak.

The special feature of this category of star is the extreme difference, to the power of 10, in density of matter between the nucleus and the shell. This thin skin is so loosely linked to the star as a whole that it takes only a few neon blasts to shoot it off into outer space, where it hurtles away at 300km per second. It is then a slowly expanding cloud, an ageing "red giant" that expands to 10 times the size of our solar system, but it still has a long way to go before it turns into a supernova.



Unlocking mysteries of the universe... Dr Wolfgang Hillebrandt at work. (Photo: MPG)

The remaining neon star, Dr Hillebrandt has shown in simulation, can swiftly trigger a supernova explosion within the "red giant."

By means of nuclear fusion chain reactions the neon star burns up, or arguably down, into a body of iron and nickel 300km in diameter surrounded only by a skin of oxygen a kilometre or so thick.

From this point onwards cosmic events proceed at breakneck speed. The iron and nickel star breaks down as expected into a neutron star.

The *resulting shock wave has* sufficient energy to blast off this thin layer of oxygen at a speed of roughly 20,000km per second.

Unlike previous computer models, this category of star was found to work, triggering the elusive supernova. It probably did so because the neon blasts had already made short shrift of much of the star's mantle.

The layer of oxygen heated to 100 million degrees centigrade hits the outer layer of hydrogen like gunshot, penetrates in a matter of weeks and sets the cosmic fireworks known as a supernova alight.

That is how the dying star, or what is left of it, burns brightly in the sky for weeks, leaving behind a tiny neutron star in its midst.

Reinhard Breuer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 August 1982)

Namibia war

Continued from page 2

...which includes the Federal Republic of Germany, have also held consultations.

Issues at stake included the strength and deployment of a UN peacekeeping force, the proposed electoral system, the role of the militant wing of Swapo and the presence of Cubans in neighbouring Angola.

Unfinished business was concluded and unexpected developments seemed possible, with unconfirmed reports suggesting that Cuba was prepared to withdraw from Angola.

Whatever the exact position may ... been never before had a solution ... the Namibia conflict been so near ... suddenly, fighting was resumed.

It looks as though South African military strategists have taken a leaf out of ...'s book now that Israel's declared aim is to exert continued military pressure on west Beirut to bring about a PLO withdrawal and what is hoped will ... peace settlement.

Final destruction of Swapo's militant wing, which has already been weakened by continual military operations, is seen as a means of ensuring secure independence for Namibia.

At first glance the idea seems to make sense, but it is a equation with many unpredictable factors.

Claus-Dietrich Möhrke

(Rheinische Post, 12 August 1982)

New telescope to see into dark corners

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

A new radio-telescope will help German and US astronomers to learn more about how stars and galaxies originate and how energy is generated in the process.

Staff of the Max Planck Radio-Astronomy *Institute, Bonn, and the University* of Tucson, Arizona, have reached agreement in Munich on construction of the telescope.

It will have a dish antenna 10 metres in diameter that will be the first made of synthetic material rather than aluminium, says the Bonn institute's Peter G. Mezger.

Astronomers should be able to take a better look at the far corners of the universe and to see for the first time the early development stages of stars in the making.

This has not so far been possible because optical telescopes were unable to penetrate the dense clouds of gas and dust in which stars and galaxies take shape.

Optical observation of galaxies has revealed little or no measurable radiation on wavelengths that can be received. This is because stars and galaxies in the making are cold gas and dust clouds at temperatures of nearly *minus 263 degrees centigrade.*

They emit radiation on wavelengths of less than a millimetre only, and all that can be seen in conventional telescopes is black spots.

That, says Professor Mezger, is why scientists have decided to develop a telescope in the sub-millimetre zone.

It will cost about DM7m and be built, after trials, on Mount Lemmon, north of Tucson, probably in 1985. The Krupp Foundation is to contribute DM3.5m, the Max Planck Institute DM1.5m.

The Americans will foot the rest of the bill, and to offset their smaller share of the capital investment will be footing more of the annual bill of at least DM600,000 to run the telescope.

Jürgen Gesper

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 3 August 1982)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Third World countries tune in to the possibilities of satellite communication

The East bloc has abandoned its opposition to satellite TV programmes for direct reception.

Developing countries are less worried that survey satellites of the Landsat category would merely help Western commercial exploitation of their natural resources even more efficiently.

These are two of the points to emerge from the second United Nations space conference, Unispace 82, in Vienna.

Conference findings are to be drafted as a report for the UN General Assembly and for member countries.

In 1968 representatives of roughly 70 countries met for the first UN conference on space research for peaceful purposes.

This conference had 140 national representatives.

In 1968, there were few differences of opinion between the industrialised and Third World countries.

The great powers were the givers, the others the takers, and this was more or less accepted. Yet there was a widespread feeling at the conference that the UN had a major part to play.

The United Nations, it was felt, could help to ensure that the benefits of space research were available to all countries in equal measure and that space would be used strictly for peaceful purposes.

But this optimism was wishful thinking. The great powers had no intention of abandoning their military ambitions *and the disputes between them showed their chief consideration to be expansion of their respective power.*

The United States, for instance, was most upset by Soviet announcements of plans to set up an Intersputnik system of communications satellites.

It would be in direct competition with the Intelsat system, which is largely controlled by the United States, and Washington saw the announcement as a political affront and a bid to upset the Vienna conference.

Times have changed. Third World countries are much more keenly interested in space research. Several satellite systems have proved extremely useful.

A major experiment in India in 1975 showed that communications satellites could be used to relay educational TV to even the remotest areas of a country.

Satellite communications are beneficial not just over long distances but also wherever the infrastructure is not fully developed.

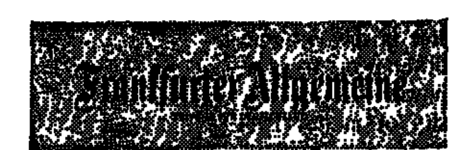
In Indonesia, for instance, twin national satellites, *Palapa 1* and *Palapa 2*, have served as a bridge between the islands for some time.

Last but not least, the photos taken by survey satellites in the Landsat category can be used for a wide range of purposes in developing impassable terrain.

These advantages are indisputable even though satellites are not always as useful or as unique as their advocates claim.

About 140 countries now use communications satellites, while over 220 ground stations directly receive photos relayed by meteorological satellites.

Nearly 40 countries have already joined Inmarsat, an international organisation for satellite communications at sea, and over 100 countries use Landsat data in prospecting for natural resources and other commodities.



Landsat data can already be received directly in a number of countries. They range from Argentina to Thailand and from Canada to China and Australia.

The second UN conference, Unispace '82, in Vienna was attended by 140 countries keen to reach agreement on international cooperation.

The conference findings are to be drafted as a report to be submitted, with recommendations, to the UN General Assembly and member-countries.

Agreement was been largely reached on a handful of issues that were previously controversial.

The East Bloc has abandoned its opposition to satellite TV programmes for direct reception now that reasonable terms have been agreed.

The developing countries are less worried than they were that Landsat photos would merely help Western companies to locate and exploit their natural resources even more accurately and completely than beforehand.

But that still left controversial topics that were hotly debated in Vienna.

James M. Beggs, head of Nasa, the US national aeronautics and space administration, recently told a Congressional sub-committee what the major *differences of opinion between the United States and the Third World were.*

He did so in connection with an evidently most intransigent US attitude that was sure to trigger disputes.

The draft conference report included, for instance, proposals for an international satellite system for geological surveys or for the United Nations to be given extra powers of coordination.

Mr Beggs said that from the US viewpoint existing international cooperation must first be outlined and probed and other options carefully considered with due regard for national objectives and requirements before setting up extra international institutions was discussed.

At the same time he was not prepared to give an assurance that the United States would continue to supply reconnaissance satellites.

He said the conference had no right to insist on national operators giving assurances in respect of reconnaissance systems that were not yet operational.

This might be true, but it was understandable that an end to developments would be most unsatisfactory for the Third World countries.

Due partly to US propaganda, they had invested large sums of money in the Landsat project. President Reagan is trying to find a private operator for Landsat but is having difficulty in finding anyone.

The French see an opportunity of competition here. In 1984 France is to launch its first own reconnaissance satellite, Spot.

Esa, Japan and India likewise have more or less specific plans to go in for reconnaissance satellites.

Differences of opinion are no less substantial on communications satellites, which are usually put into a geostationary orbit 36,000km above the equator, where they appear to stand still in *relation to the Earth.*

A number of developing countries are now worried the industrialised nations will station more and more satellites over the equator, leaving them no room in which to follow suit.

That is why they insist on their interests being borne in mind here and now and even lay claim to sovereignty over geostationary positions above their territory, which is ruled out by the terms of international space agreements.

Mr Beggs said the US delegation advocated access for all countries to geostationary orbits but opposed any kind of pre-emptive arrangements.

They would, he said, run counter to a constructive solution such as allocating new frequencies.

The United States as the West's leading space research country had a hard time of it in Vienna, especially as the Europeans have now set up in competition.

Topics the Afro-Asian delegations proposed for the conference agenda were largely identical with issues the United States was reluctant to discuss.

Many demands made by the Third World countries were wildly exaggerated and showed scant sense of reality, but the United States was called on to answer them.

The Reagan administration seems unlikely to make any serious concessions. Even the Europeans have been seriously snubbed recently.

In one instance President Reagan refused to allocate funds for a jointly agreed research programme to probe the solar system beyond the ecliptic.

US credibility was called into question before the conference even began when the United States said ot was preparing to give an assurance in Vienna that the last thing America wanted to see was an arms race in outer space.

Many military satellite systems are undoubtedly necessary to stabilise peace, but it is alarming to see so many military men at the helm of institutions and agencies purportedly concerned with strictly peaceful uses of outer space.

They have lately included the heads of Nasa's Space Shuttle division and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory *in Pasadena*, California, which has been responsible for many successful planetary missions.

The Soviet Union is hardly in a position to throw stones on this score, yet it was bound to take the opportunity provided by the Vienna conference to canvass support for its "peaceful" space research programmes.

If it were to succeed, the West as a whole would be the loser, not just the United States.

Günter Paul

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 August 1982)

International collaboration 'essential'

Space research is so involved that international collaboration on findings is essential, a delegate told the second United Nations Unispace conference in Vienna.

Hans-Hilger Haunschild, of the Bonn Research Ministry, said Bonn was a user of outer space for peaceful purposes only. It attached particular importance to applying the results of research.

Herr Haunschild, who as state secretary is the civil service head of the Ministry, headed Bonn's delegation and was elected a vice-chairman of the UN conference.

Speaking to over 1,000 delegates representing over 100 countries, he listed several space research projects involving Bonn:

- The two Helios probes, launched in 1974 and 1976 by US rockets, came closer to the Sun than any previous man-made projectiles. They withstood extreme conditions for years longer than their projected life-span and relayed an abundance of data back to Earth.
- Giotto, a European Space Agency project, is due to probe Halley's Comet in 1986.
- Galileo, a project following in the wake of the US Voyager series, is due to probe Jupiter, also in 1986.
- Rosat, a project shared with America and Britain, is due to probe the X-ray spectrum of the entire sky from 1987 and will, it is hoped, discover several hundred thousand new X-ray sources.

The Federal Republic of Germany is also associated with development work on the ERS-1 European reconnaissance satellite, an Esa project.

Germany's contribution will mainly be the manufacture of micro-wave sensors. The satellite will be used primarily in climate research, geology and prospecting for natural resources.

The emphasis will be on problems faced by the developing countries.

Satellite communications, Herr Haunschild said, was a firmly established sector in which space technology had borne fruit. Bonn's first contribution had been the Symphonie telecon satellite, developed and built jointly with France in 1976.

It had been tested in China, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, the Ivory Coast, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and by United Nations peace-keeping forces.

It had also been used in disaster relief by the International Red Cross and for a Unesco conference in Nairobi.

Communication satellites, he said, were sure to play a crucial role in the establishment of reliable telecom networks, and reliable telecommunications were a prerequisite of satisfactory social conditions and industrial and economic development.

In conjunction with the International Telecommunications Union Bonn had commissioned a survey on the importance of satellites in the development of remote rural areas in Africa.

Herr Haunschild also mentioned successful collaboration with France, say, the TV-SAT radio and TV satellite, known in France as TDF-1.

He stressed the importance of international cooperation and the UN's role as an intermediary, but he was opposed to the idea of a UN space research organisation or of special UN satellites.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 August 1982)

■ COMMUNICATION

Video cassettes give more work for the guardians of youthful morals

The Bonn government agency that vets publications harmful to the young is run on a shoestring.

It has a payroll of three civil servants and four other officers: six in all, as two do only part-time work. But they cannot complain of having nothing to do.

They used to spend most of their time looking into pornography and pulp magazines that glorified war, but since the late 70s complaints have increasingly been about the portrayal of violence in general.

From 1954, when the agency was set up, until the late 60s up to 500 complaints a year were handled: almost entirely pornography.

Then the number of cases reported declined, reaching an all-time low of 58 in 1976. Maybe it was a sign of the times: of slackness, of a more liberal outlook, of changes in taste.

But the number of complaints has since increased to between 300 and 400 a year. This year there will be many more; a single local authority youth department has filed 744 complaints.

Most complaints these days are not about porn mags but about video cassettes that glorify violence.

When a complaint is registered the agency must decide whether or not to blacklist the publication or cassette. If it is blacklisted all that happens is that advertising is banned and it may only be sold under the counter.

Even so, magazines that have been blacklisted are usually withdrawn from circulation by the publishers and distributors.

"The deluge of film cassettes that glorify brutality and violence is really worrying us," says Claus Grobecker, parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry of Youth Affairs.

> 'Risk of fascist views being spread through video.'

It is sure to come up for discussion in autumn when the Protection of Young People Bill is dealt with at committee stage in the Bundestag.

Publications about which complaints are filed are blacklisted in 8 out of 10 cases, but Bonn feels the consequences this has are insufficient.

The video boom has reached such proportions that no-one can say for sure what turn developments may yet take.

Ministry officials are undecided on how to make legal provisions to cover the video market, and the Bill mainly deals with how old young people must be before they can smoke, drink and go to the cinema or disco.

But attempts are to be made at committee stage to come to some arrangement that will relate to the video market.

Asked whether the growing number of complaints about cassettes would lead to an increase in the number of staff handling them, Herr Grobecker preferred not to give an immediate answer.

He admitted that the agency had

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

much more work on its hands but merely said the Ministry was considering ways and means of helping it to carry out its work properly.

Procedures must be effective and the cost in terms of manpower and other expenditure must be in a reasonable relationship to the benefit.

But he agreed that young people must be afforded better protection from portrayals of violence and brutality. Experts had repeatedly said how dangerous scenes of violence and murder were.

The effect on impressionable young minds had been lately emphasised at the international congress of school psychologists in Stockholm.

According to findings submitted in Stockholm, he wrote in his answer to a parliamentary question, 45 per cent of schoolchildren question said they preferred video programmes that featured brutality or porn.

Since they next to never talked with their parents about what they watched there was, the experts said, a serious risk of young people developing a fascist world view.

Herr Grobecker, Social Democratic MP for Bremen, said that in his view the risks of video cassettes must be seen in connection with signs of growing right-wing extremist potential in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ada Brandes

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 6 August 1982)

■ FOLKLORE

Eulenspiegel, the eternal joker, hero and rebel

Doctor Faustus, the dabbler in black magic from Knittlingen, survived because Goethe's two-part epic ensured him immortality.

Till Eulenspiegel, a farmer's son from Kneitlingen, near Brunswick, did not need such an august literary patron to steer him clear of oblivion.

To this day every German child can tell a tale or two of Till Eulenspiegel, the artful jester who outwitted mediaeval adversaries by the score.

In Mölln, near Lübeck, where tradition has it that he was buried, there is a bronze statue of him in his jester's attire sitting cross-legged with thumbs up and a grin all over his face.

He was, by all accounts, a popular hero, an indestructible individual who

Siegfried H. Sichtermann, *Die Wandlungen des Till Eulenspiegel*, Böhlau Verlag, Cologne and Vienna, DM75.

never gave up and constantly doled out wit and ridicule whenever he was in trouble.

For centuries he has been a figure with whom the common man, and children in particular, have felt able to identify.

They are still jubilant when he is said to have taken everyone literally and made fools of them. Eulenspiegel has unquestionably survived.

He is more than a match in popularity for his fellow-veteran of centuries-old folk tales, Doctor Faustus, the Swabian alchemist.

Eulenspiegel is so popular a folk hero that he has been claimed by many as a kindred spirit. He is said to have been a hired labourer who staunchly defended the interests of his class.

He has been seen as a hero of freedom and an eternal rebel, an anti-Christ, worldly wise and even, in the Third Reich, the embodiment of a combative outlook on life.

Today's advocates of an alternative life style have adopted Eulenspiegel as the original political freak and dropout who refused to knuckle under to social compulsion.

Marxists claim him as a comrade in the class struggle and representative of the early bourgeois revolution. But a figure to whom all lay claim can elude them all.

When one reads the 95 tales in the 1515 Strasbourg edition, Brunswick customs clerk Hermann Bote's Till Eulenspiegel will be seen to be more than just an amusing and artful dodger.

He is a scintillating figure and extremely hard to classify, although various interpretations are possible if tales are selected accordingly and others ignored.

He can then be stylised both as a positive provocateur of feudalism and a figure who stands firm against his racial background.

But there can be little doubt on one point. Till Eulenspiegel seems to have been the most argumentative know-all of all time.

He stopped short at nothing to have the last word and outshine an adversary, not even at eating his own excrement.

It is strange and surprising that Eu-



lenspiegel as described by Bote in his mediaeval satire has been used time and again as a literary model but next to never been convincingly portrayed in artistic form.

The exception was arguably Charles de Coster, a Munich-born Belgian who wrote in French.

Siegfried H. Sichtermann, editor of the Eulenspiegel Yearbook, has gone to the trouble of collecting adaptations of Eulenspiegel from Hans Sachs to Christa and Gerhard Wolf and editing a sampler from five centuries.

The result is both interesting and disappointing. Many felt called but few, apart from de Coster, were chosen to write on the subject.

Hans Sachs and Johann Fischart reduced Eulenspiegel to a superficial and narrow figure, either an efficient or a moral and didactic hero.

Wilhelm Vershofen, leader of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei (a forerunner of today's Liberals) in the Weimar constitutional assembly of 1919, gave him a political role.

He changed Till into Tyll and made him a Minister who struggles in vain to set up a state based on common sense and humanity.

Günter Weisenborn in his Ballade vom Eulenspiegel, Federle und der dikken Pompanne follows in de Coster's footsteps and takes a critical look at totalitarianism.

Gerhart Hauptmann also used the Eulenspiegel material, giving his treatment the baroque title *Des grossen Kampffliegers, Landfahrers, Gauklers und Magiers Till Eulenspiegel Abenteuer, Streiche, Gaukeleien, Gesichte und Träume.*

It was published in 1928, a verse epic written in hexameters, and Willy Haas said it was true and would remain true. But nowadays it seems forced in style and appears strange, not to say alien, to the modern reader.

The Eulenspiegel adaptation that has always most impressed me is the poems by George A. Goldschlag, the Berlin poet, who got Eulenspiegel the homeless, have-not, deeply lonely and restless wanderer just right:

Ich hiess sein Freund und ebenso/ Sein Feind und Widerstreiter, / Sein Heimatdorf war 'Irgendwo', / Sein Ziel war 'Immerweiter'. (I was both his friend and foe, his native place was 'Somewhere,' his destination 'On and On').

Sichtermann exercises restraint in his commentary on these adaptations of the Eulenspiegel tales. Till's immortality is due not to them but to the shorter, simplified versions printed as children's books.

Since the last war alone no fewer than 150 versions have been published. Norbert Klugmann is right in saying that if there were no longer any children's books there might well no longer be a Till Eulenspiegel.

In the final analysis we are all (and not just Till) artists at survival. What is positive and viable will survive and be handed down from one generation to the next.

What specialists in Germanic studies, psychoanalysts, sociologists and agitators have made of this popular figure will not reach the bedrock in any case.

I feel sure that people in the GDR will not allow themselves to be dissuaded from loving Till Eulenspiegel, from



Still the artful jester . . . Till Eulenspiegel fountain in Mölln. (Photo: [illegible])

laughing at him and with him, [illegible] by official interpretations.

Let Gerhard Steiner see the folk tales as a reflection of the class struggle of Christa and Gerhard Wolf try to convince people in the GDR that Eulenspiegel is a symbol of plebeian peasant opposition. He will still be as popular as ever.

In 100 years' time a literary historian in the Nietzschean sense might conceivably publish another Eulenspiegel anthology. Eulenspiegel is sure still to be around, but will the anthology necessarily include, among its many new writers, say an erstwhile classic such as Goethe?

Norbert Koch

(Die Welt, 3 August 1982)

The Grand Old Lady of the fairy tale

Fairy tales must be told and not read. They reflect the characteristics of nations, what they have in common and the contrasts between them.

Telling them is an art that few people still cultivate. Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar, 90, of Hamburg, is a fairy tale-teller supreme.

No-one who has sat and listened to her inimitable delivery can have forgotten it.

The tales she told were for adults, an art form perhaps, but straightforward and not artificial, told in the way tales used to be told by one person to another, for people who could neither read nor write.

Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar has never been a believer in telling children fairy tales. Children, she has always felt, are incapable of grasping and processing the contents.

Artificial fairy tales such as those of Hans Christian Andersen, Wilhelm Hauff and Oscar Wilde are another matter. But they were not for her; she stuck to the popular variety and to the unity of narrator and audience.

She has always preferred to sit close together with her audience, close to the events created by the power of the word, and the tales she told were always fascinating.

She agreed that famous fairy tales included some gruesome scenes, but they were a mere drop in the ocean in comparison with everything children saw and heard in the media.

She not only realised early that fairy



Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar . . . close to her audiences. (Photo: dpa)

tales were to be narrated as in days of old; she was also a past master at telling them.

She was born in Vienna and trained as an actress in Berlin, later working at theatres including Hamburg's Deutsches Schauspielhaus.

In 1913 she married Adolph Mönckeberg, a son of Hamburg's burgomaster Johann Georg Mönckeberg.

But her husband was killed in action in Flanders in 1914 and she went on to study literature and phonetics in Berlin and Hamburg.

When Hamburg University was set up in 1919 she was appointed lecturer in speech training and recitation. It was at about this time that she began giving recitals of her own.

She carried on working at the university, interrupted only during the Second World War, for half a century.

She married again, Wilhelm Kollmar, a businessman, but gained a reputation in 17 European countries as the "ambassador of the fairy tale."

She has a repertoire of over five dozen tales and in 1923 set up a recitation choir together with dance instructor Rudolf von Laban.

After the Second World War she helped establish the German chapter of W.O.M.A.N., the World Organisation of Mothers of All Nations, which she headed for 12 years.

Generations of trainee speakers and artists have been put through their paces by Vilma Mönckeberg-Kollmar. All have learnt something of the fairy tale tradition of European nations.

But a successor to the Grand Old Lady of the fairy tale has yet to be found. She would have to be a worthy successor, for Frau Mönckeberg-Kollmar has never been just a run-of-the-mill storyteller.

Walter Deppisch

(Die Welt, 28 July 1982)

■ THE MEDIA

Where Britannia still rules the (radio) waves

BFBS, the British Forces Broadcasting Service, operates from what must once have been quite a stately home in Marienburg, a high-class residential suburb of Cologne.

Entertainment, information and education in that order are, it likes to feel, the services it provides for the 160,000 BAOR servicemen and their families who have been stationed in Germany since 1945.

BFN, as it was known for decades, helps to maintain the Rhine Army's links with Britain and tries to give servicemen and their families a feeling of being at home in Germany.

When you enter the BFBS villa in Parkstrasse, Marienburg, you might be excused for imagining the staff have only just moved in.

Cardboard boxes are piled here and there and all the doors are wide open so that people within shouting distance don't have to constantly communicate by telephone.

BFBS has in fact been based here for nearly 30 yers and the informal atmosphere is typical of a place where everyone, from the director-general to the trainee, is on first-name terms.

The atmosphere is most definitely British, and that's how they like it in this tiny British enclave in the Rhineland.

The director-general, Richard Norton, 54, runs operations from the top floor of the building next door. He is the station's tenth director but is slightly embarrassed by the term.

"It sounds more important than it is," he says, and his office certainly has no pretensions to being an executive suite.

There is neither a fitted carpet nor patent leather armchairs, let alone a front office with two or three secretaries; just another open door with a handwritten nameplate that reads: R. C. Norton.

At BFBS not a penny is wasted on trying to impress visitors. The station proves on the FM or, as the British say, the VHF dial that a fine broadcasting service can be run on a shoestring.

Countless Germans tune in to BFBS, the smallest radio station in Germany, rather than to German transmitters. They must do for it to reach a daily audience of five million.

Westdeutscher Rundfunk, also based in Cologne, transmits on three frequencies in North-Rhine-Westphalia, reaching 8.5 million listeners.

Südwestfunk in Baden-Baden has an audience of 6.8 million all over the country, while Radio Luxembourg reaches 4.8 million.

The British Forces Network began operations from the Musikhalle in Hamburg on 29 June 1945 and in its heyday had a payroll of over 200.

It ran three orchestras, including a tango orchestra for which Bert Kämpfert worked as a 22-year-old. But then came the first economy wave.

The orchestras were disbanded, the payroll was reduced and Hamburg wanted its Musikhalle back too, so BFN moved to Cologne in 1954.

The cathedral city was a convenient choice for various reasons. The Parkstrasse villa was already in BAOR use as an officers' mess.

At nearby Butzweiler Hof an RAF base provided ready access to recorded material from London, while BFN could also share the transmitter facilities of Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk, as it then was.

Until the end of March this year BFBS was answerable to the Ministry of Defence in London and its staff were civil servants.

"As the government is drastically cutting the number of state-financed civil servants," Mr Norton says, "it has started where it feels civil servant status is least warranted."

So BFBS has been merged with SKC, the Services Kinema Corporation, a foundation that supplies British forces cinemas with films and the BAOR with educational material.

The joint venture will be known as SSVC, or Services Sound and Vision Corporation, and BFBS staff are in the process of negotiating fresh contracts.

Mr Norton hopes the change-over will be accomplished with cuts of neither staff nor pay.

He will hear nothing of allegations that BFBS merely intensifies the isolation of British service personnel and dependants in Germany.

"That's quite untrue," he says. "We try very hard to help our listeners to integrate. They learn a lot from us about Germany: politics, the people and the country, entertainment and sport.

"We regularly broadcast reports of Bundesliga soccer games. Many British servicemen support their local German soccer club."

But BFBS is carefully to exercise restraint in connection with German politics: "We may tell our listeners that Herr Schmidt, say, has flown to Washington to do something or other, but we take good care not to comment on the purpose of his visit."

During our talk we have strolled over into the canteen, a tiny attic reminiscent of a pub, with ham and cheese sandwi-

Richard Norton . . . no frills. (Photo: Sabine Sauer)

Continued on page 15

■ OUR WORLD

Goethe Institute steps up its programme

The Goethe Institute, West Germany's counterpart to the USIS, the British Council or the Alliance Française, is stepping up its activities in the United States.

The expansion planned from Goethe Institute head offices in Munich forms part of the Bonn government's bid to improve German-American relations.

But the programme endorsed by the Foreign Office has been hamstrung by Finance Ministry cuts. The Goethe Institute is not allowed to hire extra staff, and budget cuts are a constant clawback on current expenditure.

Staff shortages are a serious handicap. The Goethe Institute, with branches all over the world, is an ideal field worker in cultural diplomacy.

In promoting cultural exchange it does exactly what Bonn has in mind, fostering a better understanding of Germany and the Germans abroad.

But in Munich the problem is seen as one of plugging one gap after another with insufficient funds and manpower. Says Jürgen Ohlau, in charge of foreign activities:

"We are having to call a halt to work in other countries in order to step up activities in the United States. We have to draw the staff for new branches in America from somewhere or other."

Staff transferred from Goethe Institutes elsewhere are earmarked for three new projects in the United States:

- In Houston an office is to be converted into a fully-fledged new Goethe Institute with the emphasis on lending a helping hand to more German teachers at US colleges.
- In Los Angeles an office is to be opened this autumn; it too will form the nucleus of what will later, it is hoped, be a full-scale branch.
- In Seattle another Goethe Institute facility is to be set up in autumn 1983.

At present there are Goethe Institutes in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York and San Francisco.

Their task is to give teachers, journalists, scientists and artists in particular a clearer idea of the present-day Federal Republic of Germany.

Special importance is attached to collaboration with college teachers of German. Last year close ties were maintained with about 12,000 teachers at 2,000 colleges.

They in turn teach about 380,000 students German. So the number of people reached is substantial.

It is impressive to learn how many Americans visit exhibitions and special events at the Goethe Institute. Last year hundreds of thousands saw an exhibition on Germany in the 19th Century.

In Boston preparations are under way for a programme on Berlin, a topic on which local people have shown keen interest. It will include films, lectures and platform debates.

Special programmes designed to reach a wider public include German months on local radio.

Goethe Institute staff in the United States cannot complain of lack of interest by the American public.

But despite the commitment and goodwill of the staff there are limits to what can be done. The three new US projects exhaust Goethe Institute capacity not only in the United States but worldwide.

"We had hoped to do more in the United States," he says, "but what we now plan is the most we can do under our own steam. Any more will depend on more appointments being paid for by Bonn."

Four more new Goethe Institutes in the United States were originally planned. They were assigned priority by the Foreign Office, which was enthusiastic about the entire programme.

Then the budget axe fell and the Finance Ministry cut the programme to ribbons.

Martin S. Lambeck

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 5 August 1982)

> There are Goethe Institutes in Kabul and Cairo, in Rothenburg and Rotterdam: 150 in 66 countries. They teach German, provide information about the Federal Republic of Germany and establish and maintain cultural links abroad.
>
> The Goethe Institute is for countless people all over the world their first encounter and *point of contact* with the German language and German culture.
>
> It works on behalf of the Bonn Foreign Office and is a linchpin of cultural diplomacy at home and abroad. Last year 25,000 people from all over the world and in all age groups attended Goethe Institute German language courses in Germany itself.
>
> It is headed by Klaus von Bismarck and has a full-time staff of about 2,700. In 1980 its budget was DM167.5m. In many countries it faces tough opposition from the Herder Institute, which is run by the GDR.



Klaus von Bismarck ... the man at the top. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Old people return to university to learn about the third age

Retirement, known in France as the third age, need not be a period of inactivity and decline. Frankfurt University has launched courses for 50- to 80-year-olds to enable them to put to better use the eight hours a day they no longer spend at work. More than 400 senior students have enrolled for courses this winter semester, and the number seems sure to increase.

Old people don't have a career to keep them busy. Even if they had, they couldn't keep up with the pace young people seem to manage.

Friends of a lifetime fade and die. How do they come to terms with this? An impressive bid to find the answer is in progress at Frankfurt University.

On the initiative of Professor Anitra Karsten of the department of social pedagogics and adult education, who has taught gerontology at Frankfurt for 15 years, a variety of departments have joined forces to help the old.

A university for older people is not in itself a new idea, but at Marburg, Dortmund and Oldenburg, lectures are given on conventional medical issues of geriatrics, such as age-related eye complaints, cancer and growing old and what it entails.

At Frankfurt the emphasis is on social changes in the third age of man. Professor Karsten and her enthusiastic associates want not only to provide educational facilities.

They also plan to go through topical problems with their senior students, thereby learning more themselves.

The Frankfurt courses, which began in June and have so far attracted about 300 old people, deal with issues such as pensions, the views on life of old and young, consumer habits of older people and understanding between the generations.

The first intake of senior students came from the Rhine-Main region, from the Palatinate, from Karlsruhe and Kaiserslautern, and they did more than just sit and listen.

They bombarded the lecturers with queries and kept them on their toes.

Or so says Klaus Dinges. He and Gisela Brandt run one of the working parties at which the older students voiced dissatisfaction with the situation of old people and dealt with the activities provided for them.

Men and women between 50 and 80 are often told to try senior citizens' clubs, but the activities they provide (c... stitutionalised isolation, Dinges calls i... interest only 30 to 40 per cent of them.

What usually happens is that the young dictate what has to interest the old, so an aspect emphasised by the working parties was how old people fe... about the changes undergone in old age and how they experienced the phenomenon.

Both sides found they needed to overcome prejudice: both students and staff on the one hand and the senior students on the other.

Topics covered included generation conflicts, leisure activities in old age, the woman's role then and now, sexuality in old age, the importance of the old for the economy and housing and living conditions of the old.

This winter seven university departments will deal with these issues in greater detail, while last semester's lectures will be continued. Attention will also be paid to collaboration between young students and their older counterparts in seminars and working parties.

Lawyers and economists, sociologists and educationalists, psychologists, theologians and medics all plan to learn more about old people by working with them and not just reading books about them.

Old people are still very upset about what in Germany is referred to as the unresolved past, meaning the Third Reich, which is a topic political scientists might, for instance, go into.

The old are keen to make contact with younger people. They suffer from isolation. This, says Professor Karsten, is an aspect Frankfurt University psychoanalysts plan to look into.

Analysis has generally been limited to people under 40 or, say, 50. It has thus dealt largely with conflicts between parents and children.

What, then, about grandparents? There are so many other issues. Age is relative. As Professor Karsten says, you are only as old as society makes you out to be.

German society tends to push the old to one side, to deprive them of functions and to give them a feeling of being useless and valueless.

Frankfurt's Third Age University has set itself as a major task that of harnessing the experience of the old. Their experience is valuable because they are differently sensitised, as Herr Dinges puts it, and have their own outlook on life.

The aim is to look into all aspects of this phenomenon and to incorporate it in academic theory.

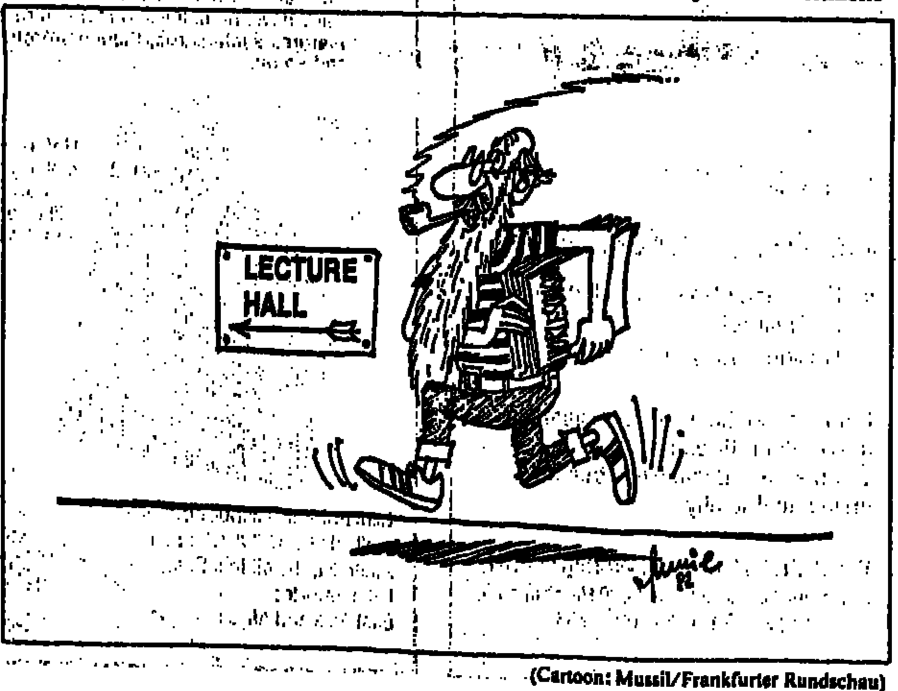
"Local authority planning for the old would be sure to be different if it were drawn up in conjunction with old people themselves," says Gisela Brandt.

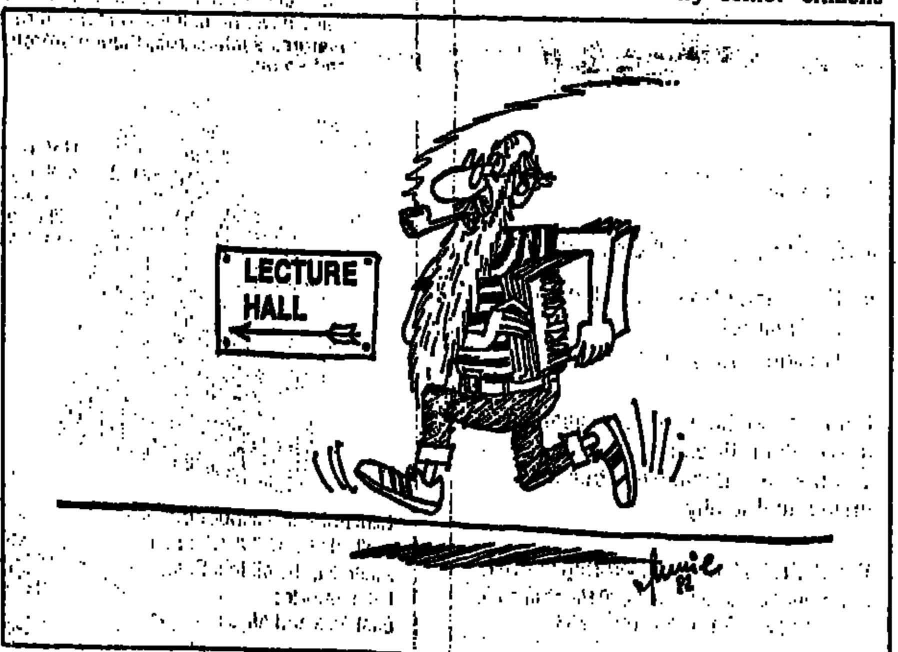
Since senior students who are helping to pioneer the project want not just to consume information but to make a contribution of their own there are plans to draw up a model aid to the old scheme.

Empirical material is also to be collected for pre-retirement courses. At present these courses, intended to make the transition from work to retirement easier, are based on vague, outdated and unscientific material.

Age is an increasingly topical issue. The United Nations has just held a two...

Continued on page 15





(Cartoon: Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

■ CHILDREN

Communes polish up their image, but are they really ideal to grow up in?

Children who grow up in communes used to be described as lacking in attachment, lacking in personal ties and insolent.

The children lacked stable relationships at an early age and had to come to terms with a succession of different contacts and a chaotic daily routine.

Communes have now improved their reputation. There are more than ever. In the early 60s there were about 10,000. Now there are an estimated 65,000. On average, each has five or six adults and one or two children.

There are couples who have lived in communes for a decade, and their children have nearly grown up in them.

How they develop and what distinguishes them from children of nuclear families, has never been empirically studied.

Bronfenbrenner in *Erziehungssysteme* (Educational Systems) and Bettelheim in *Kinder der Zukunft* (Children of the Future) deal in their observations and conclusions with other civilisations.

In *Psyche* 8/80 Werner Münsterberger, a psychoanalyst, warns of emotional confusion and "libido diffusion."

The extended family of a commune could, he said, create emotional confusion among very small children, while "libido diffusion" might ocur when several adults took turns to look after them.

Horst-Eberhard Richter takes a different view. "All kinds of family crisis," he has said in an interview, "can also occur in a commune. But the decisive aspect of the commune movement is not its measurable success today but the direction in which it is heading."

That will depend on how children who grow up in communes develop.

Viennese psychologist Christof Gaspary has investigated 28 countries in connection with nearly 80 variable factors and found that psycho-social stress (criminality, illness, suicide and divorce) is more frequent the smaller the family unit is.

Countries with a high economic performance have smaller family units and more psycho-social stress.

The reverse also applies. Where the extended family is still intact, economic performance motivation is low.

But these are mere hypotheses and theories. People who live with children in communes take a different view. They tend to see matters less in terms of black and white.

Claudia has a son, 2, and has lived in communes for 10 years. Her son was born in a commune consisting of five adults and an older child.

"He has grown up here like an only child," she says, "but he has lots of uncles and aunts, and he doesn't like all of them equally. He makes very subtle distinctions in his relationships with them."

Greta has a daughter, Jutta, who is now six. She too has lived in communes for 10 years, mostly in one consisting of nine adults and three small children.

Jutta, she says, used to be very close emotionally with other members of the commune. "When someone moved out she was upset for months, but she has now learnt to look after herself and not feel so lost.

"She may be a little young to do so at six, but I feel sure she will one day have a strong ego."

Gisela, with 12 years' experience of communes, has two children, aged 2 and 5. She feels they show signs of growing talent when it comes to behaving diplomatically.

"There are often times when they wangle their way round all the adults," she says. "You have to take care to ensure that educational principles are upheld.

"With all the will in the world not all the adults can always know what is currently allowed and what is prohibited.

"As a result even the child's parents let more exceptions through and are no longer as consistent in imposing sanctions."

To begin with, says Claudia, all adult members of the commune tried to help bring up the children. Their parents first had to object.

"When you live in such a public manner you tend to become extremely touchy and vulnerable," she says.

The practical consequence was that no other member of the commune was allowed to interfere in how the children were brought up without first asking their parents.

People seem to feel that communal living will relieve the burden of parenthood. Apparently this is not the case. The children still remain one's own and one is solely responsible for them.

Babysitting arrangements tht ought to be a matter of course do not always work because adults whose turn it is and who don't have children of their own tend to be unreliable and lay claim to spare time of their own.

"But in an emergency they all prove a great help."

There can be no generalisations about how strongly children are influenced by living in communes, all three mothers agree. It depends, for instance, on the ratio of adults to children.

If there are too many adults and too few children the kids tend to be incidental, and care has to be taken to ensure that they are done justice.

If there are too many children and too few adults stable relationships are forged among the children, better relationships than between brothers and sisters even.

But separation can be as painful as when brothers and sisters are torn apart in divorce cases.

All told, the three women feel, living in a commune does not leave its imprint on children. They are, indeed, better able to evolve their individual characteristics than in nuclear families.

Above all, they are not always at the centre of interest.

Anneliese Patzwaldt

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1982)

Continued from page 14

...t conference in Vienna to look into what life ought to be like in old age and what society must be like when there are more and more old people.

According to UN figures there will be ... million people over 60 by the turn of the century, so a case could well be made out for calling our era the Age of the Old.

Most people over 60 are neither physically or mentally handicapped nor incapable of learning something new, the UN conference ruled.

Both in Vienna and in Frankfurt scientists have discovered that old people are, as the UN puts it, very much capable of action.

Professor Karsten has arranged to exchange Frankfurt findings for similar ... carried out by universities in other countries. Cooperation with charities which often run facilities for the aged is ... planned.

Senior representatives have taken part in the university experiment. Club wardens tell students how they get on with old people, while senior students tell them what they think of the facilities provided.

The only drawback encountered by this promising project is a fairly widespread complaint these days. Keen interest has been shown but funds are ... needed to eke out meagre resources.

Ulrike Füssel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 July 1982)

Continued from page 13

ches, hamburgers (not unduly British) and beer.

This is where, say, Richard Nankivell recovers from his three-hour daily stint as a disc jockey.

He is currently BFBS's favourite programme presenter. For many young service wives whose husbands are on duty in Northern Ireland he is a lifeline.

He plays cheerful music, is full of helpful hints and bright ideas and tries to cheer up Valerie from Mönchengladbach and Susan from Rheindahlen and all the other wives who phone in.

Is there any truth in the claim that BFBS pop music programmes have prompted German stations to transmit livelier programmes? Mr Norton is delighted by the question but much too diffident to say yes.

But Hessischer Rundfunk in Frankfurt admits to having taken a long hard look at BFBS programmes from Cologne before deciding the programme make-up of its Third Programme, a blend of pop music and services.

Rainer Nolden

(Die Welt, 27 July 1982)

Communal work alternative to imprisonment

A 17-year-old Cologne youth had a drug, alcohol and theft record when he was sentenced by a juvenile court to do socially useful work and handed over to the probation officer.

He was lucky. Juvenile courts can impose social work sentences where it is possible. There is a special project in Cologne.

Since it was begun two years ago, the number of fines and prison sentences imposed by juvenile courts in the city has declined by a third.

Social service sentences have been imposed three times more often than they were before the facility, *Die Brücke*, was set up.

Last year alone it succeeded, or was instrumental, in averting prison terms or fines for 1,500 youngsters.

When it was launched in 1980 *Die Brücke* was only the second institution of its kind in Germany. There are now five more in a number of cities.

All aim to breathe life into the option juvenile courts have of imposing social work sentences.

They arrange for young offenders to work in charitable institutions that help the old, the handicapped or the young, in hospital and for the church.

They supervise the delinquent's work and offer a helping hand with their clients' personal and private problems.

They thus ensure, says project manager Erich Marks, that the work sentence fulfils its educational purpose.

Until 1980 Cologne, like most other German cities, lacked both the manpower to handle social work of this kind and staff to keep an eye on young offenders who were likely to get into trouble again.

Neither youth organisations nor the probation service, which looks after about 600 youngsters per member of staff per year in Cologne, were in a position to do so.

The 10 full-time *Brücke* workers (they include an educationalist and four social workers) liaise closely with the public prosecutor's office and juvenile court judges.

Since June last year they have succeeded in persuading the authorities to drop proceedings in 184 cases before charges were preferred.

The public prosecutor referred the case to the social service rather than to the court, preventing unnecessary expense and speeding cases by several months.

About 90 per cent of young offenders referred to *Die Brücke* come voluntarily, often on the day of referral, although most are sceptical initially, says Renate Menzel.

It might be argued that they only come because the alternative is even less attractive, but suspicion and anxiety are usually allayed after the first talks.

"When they realise we aren't a government department, won't be watching their every move and are keen to lend a hand they cooperate," she says.

Only one *Brücke* client in about 40 refuses point-blank to do social work and is remanded in custody.

Problems arise with youngsters who are referred to the group because they seem likely to backslide into a life of crime and are unable to cope with life on their own.

They include regular customers who regard minor and medium-grade offences as a means of solving their problems, are given to aggressive behaviour and will never by themselves be able to break out of the vicious circle of the gang, drink and crime.

"I have spent six months trying to help a single youngster," Frau Menzel says. What particularly upset her was that she could see he was only going to get himself into more trouble and was unable to get through to him.

If staff see no other solution they may recommend taking youngsters into custody temporarily, but looked after by a social worker who interviews them in depth beforehand and afterwards.

Eva Tasche

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